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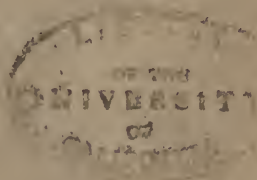
American Justice and Humanity

As Seen From the Cosmopolitan Point of View.

By

Umeshiro Suzuki

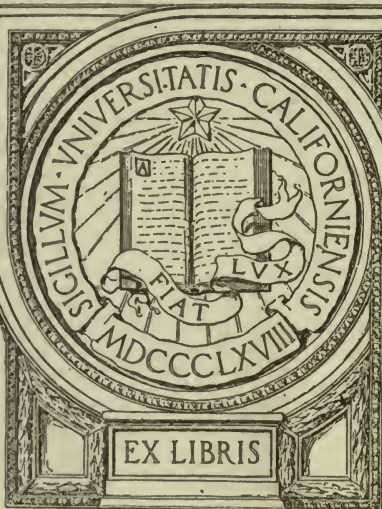
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INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR.

I have always been a friend of America. When a youth I read an American history and entertained a burning admiration for America and the Americans. I have often read the lives of the great men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, so absorbed that I forgot my meals. Even after I grew older and was interested in the affairs of the world, my faith in the Americans had not changed. When I saw that the diplomacy of England, France, Germany and Russia, and other nations of the old world could not depart from the despicable method of the strong eating the flesh of the weak, I could not but be deeply moved by my admiration of America. But for the past ten or more years, the American diplomacy gradually changed. Today, it has become worse. I, who had long been an admirer of America, seeing the present conditions, could not entertain some amount of doubts. Until the end of the European War, I had remained as an admirer of America. But from the time of the Versailles peace treaty, my doubts about America have become all the more profound. Today, I am tired of America, and am greatly disappointed. But I do not believe that all of the Americans have turned bad. Even today, there are some American gentlemen, who inherit the spirit of the protestant fathers and the courage of the pioneers. From the point of view of the foregoing considerations, I have written the present pamphlet to give vent to my sincere sentiment, in order to appeal to the conscience of the genuine Americans, to see that America and the Americans whom I had admired might be reawakened. For a long time I have entertained a sort of ideal for a League of Nations. In September, 1912, I wrote a book, entitled "A World Unification Policy For Peace," which I distributed among my acquaintances. The present pamphlet was written in accordance with the same ideal. I believe I have observed America and the Americans from a fair and

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unbiased position, from the standpoint of a cosmopolitan. If I can secure the sympathy of a majority of Americans, my joy will know no bound, since I have been an admirer of America. There will be nothing greater in the interest of peace of the world and the happiness of mankind.

In this pamphlet, the details of matters described might have been given rather too much. But the original object of the chapters in this pamphlet has been to let Japanese people to read it. I ask forbearance on the part of the readers of the translation for the tediousness of the pamphlet. Should the readers have kindness to to make any comment on what I had to say in this pamphlet, I request their indulgence to let me know their views to the following address.

Donten UMESHIRO SUZUKI

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of the Imperial Japanese Diet.

JITSU-SEIKWATSUSHA.

2 Izumo-cho, Kyobashi-ku, Tokyo,
Japan.

After having seen off the Japanese Delegation to the Washington Conference, October 15, 1921.

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American Principle of Justice and Humanity As Seen From the Cosmopolitan Point of View

By

UMESHIRO SUZUKI

Member of the House of Representatives of the Imperial Japanese Diet

CHAPTER 1.—AMERICANISM ANALYZED.

(1.) *Understand American Properly.*

According to an investigation made in April, 1919, the amount of specie owned by the United States of North America was \$7,610,010,761 and the deposits in the national treasury of that country was \$522,280,339. The outstanding loans to foreign nations on January 1, 1919, amounted altogether to \$9,511,777,311.50. With such great power of gold, America faces the nations of the world. east and west. as a great capitalist faces laborers; intent upon leaving nothing undone in order that the whole world may be compelled to kneel suppliantly under her feet. America exercise the most powerful influence in the world today among the powers. America's motto is in politics, industry, communications, education and arts, "the First in the World," or "America First." Her resources are abundant, her products plentiful; and the American goes his way straightforwardly, nothing which he desires being denied him and nothing which he undertakes being impossible to him. America rightly assumes the position of the director of the world, the leader of mankind. The hopes and aspirations which President Harding expressed in regard to the Pacific Conference in his address on the occasion of the welcome tendered him in Lancaster, on August 4, 1921, showed him at the height of success, as-

suming an attitude of taking the whole world into his confidence, He said, "My confidence in the American system of government has become all the stronger. It cannot be shaken. In the near future, American's example will lead the whole world into permanent peace. The Armaments Limitation Conference, which will shortly be held, aims at forming an international agreement which will put a stop to war and to direct the attention of mankind toward useful enterprises. During the past 130 or more years, we the Americans broke the whole record of civilization in the world. Our republic had at first risen as a small colonial organization. Today she is regarded as the leader of the world. Our country men and the people of the world in general are now crying that war should be extirminated."

Where have such great power of America and such lofty American spirit sprung from? We should be calm in studying America. It will not comport with the dignity of a man who knows himself to indulge in denouncing others with loud remarks and recklessly criticising others with investives. We should first properly understand America. To understand America properly is to understand Japan properly. As a means of self reflection and meditation, we should study America dispassionately.

There are many misunderstandings in the world. But there is no worse misunderstandings than those between nations. Japan had once been regarded as an island of gold, as witness the diary of Marco Polo, who served as an adviser to Kublai Khan of China of the Yuan period. That description was one of the keenest motives which led Christopher Columbus to rise. But Japan was over-estimated when she was regarded as the island of gold. During the Russo-Japanese war, there were many Russian peasants who mistook Japan as the name of a poisonous insect which germinated in the Orient. It was no wonder that a leading American newspaper confused Prince Ito with Admiral of the Flert Ito. Lack of knowledge about foreign countries is indeed a great short-coming of a nation. Especially when that nation is a direct competitor of other

countries will mean that the nation does not itself. It will presage the sad fate of defeat in a war. A certain leading French newspaper misspelled the names of places and men in England and was quite unconcerned. A critic remarked "Look at the French indifference toward foreign countries. That was the true cause of the defeat of Sedan. If some Americans misunderstood Japan, let them alone. If they asked when looking at the Japanese national flag what the red ball in center signified, or if when shown the Japanese chrysanthemum flower they asked if there was such a beautiful flower in Japan, it is not necessarily a cause for Japan to be sad over it. If, however, the Japanese should show such ignorance about America and the Americans, it will be a serious matter. The Japanese should not look at the Americans as Americans look at Japan. For the Japanese to understand America and the Americans properly will mean that Japan knows herself, that is that she understands her own good qualities and power. We must first calmly study America.

✓ (2) *National Spirit of Self-Reliance.*

Whatever be the true character of the American civilization, America at any rate has developed as the greatest influence in the world, so that she is now able to compel many older countries in civilization to kneel at her feet. That wonderful development of America was by no means an accident. America's development was due to the spirit of the American people. Some persons may say that America has natural resources and is an unlimited treasure house, and that her development was a boon of nature. Such view is a reckless one in the extreme. To be sure, the mines, the oil wells, the wheat fields, the cotton plantations, the forests, and the water-power electric sites which America possesses were the most necessary gifts of nature which helped to make America the rich and powerful nation as she is today. But cannot such gifts of nature be found in any other country beside America? According to the in-

vestigation made by Professor Munsterberg, the natural resources in South America and China are by no means inferior to those of America. Yet there is a vast difference between the South American countries or China and the United States of American in point of national development at present. It was the American people with the peculiar spirit of their own to address themselves to the task of developing nature who have made America the rich and powerful nation as she is. Indeed, it was the spirit of the American people that has done it. If we really want to know America which is a wonder of the present age, it will not be sufficient if we only looked at the wonderful sky scrapers in New York, astonished by the hustle and bustle of Wall Street, inspected the slaughter house in Chicago, the libraries at Harvard or Columbia, or were invited to a ball in the Hotel Astor. Such experience alone will not enable us to learn anything about the greatness and glory of America. Not only that, but we would only be disgusted at the dark side of the American civilization, or at best entertain a sort of resentment at the evils of materialistic civilization of that country. Before we undertake to observe the great country of America, the America which is the first and foremost in the world, we must first know the spirit of America which enabled that country to accumulate that wonderful wealth and strength.

In order to know the American principle and to explain the American spirit, I must naturally tell the history of that country. But aside from offering here the smallest amount of elementary knowledge necessary for understanding the American principle, I shall refrain from going the length of narrating the history of America. In order to understand perfectly the American civilization, I believe we should understand the spirit of the American people first. In a word, the American spirit is independence and self-reliance. In other words, to manage one's own affairs oneself, to control one's temper by oneself, is the unique method of avoiding management by others and to escape from the yoke of others. Liberty is granted only

to those who possess the fitness for self-government. That is the article of faith of the Americans.

In America, the gentlemen, however high in official ranks or social distinctions, believe that to maintain order and to observe the rules of public morality, is to be faithful to one's conscience. They respect their own position and power and do not violate them. They regard police men or street car conductors who are at work are their own personal representatives and the symbols of their own conscience. They believe that to obey the orders of conductors or to follow the directions of the police men is to obey their own conscience. So they do not take any attitude of disrespect to those public servants. Max Orel told how a prominent American millionaire waited patiently at the entrance to a dining room until his seat was assigned him by a waiter. During the European war, when a law was promulgated to prohibit automobile driving on Sundays, a certain Japanese asked of an auto-amnibus driver. "Since the law was promulgated, your income must have fallen considerably." The driver replied in a dignified manner, as follows.

"Yes, indeed. Our income fell by \$20 to 30 each Sunday. But that is nothing. Today, our entire nation is fighting that hateful Germany. I have cast my valuable vote for Mr. Wilson. It is the work which Mr. Wilson is doing. What if our little income fell? If we do not approve of Mr. Wilson's policy, we may not vote for him in the next election. In short, we are responsible for everything."

That was the expression of the principle of self-government which supports great America and the spirit of Americanism which is cherished by all the Americans.

(3) *Elements of National Organization.*

To love liberty is man's nature. To respect self-government is the common principle among the people of law-governed country. It is not a monopoly of the Americans. But in the old world, there are

in every country the remnant influences of the feudal times, such as the titled nobilities and priests. These elements became bureaucrats or militarists in the course of progress of history, even now occupying special positions politically and socially. Therefore, the ardent faith of the Americans in liberty when they escaped from the oppressions of the feudal influences and established a new nation in the new world based upon the principle of individual liberty, was something peculiar to them. Liberty is equally desired by mankind and self-government is respected alike by every races. But it is not wide of the mark of say that there is no other nation who loves liberty and self-government so much as the Americans.

After Columbus discovered America in 1493, it was Spain which began to open up the new world. At that time there was France back of Spain and the latter was afraid of the former. Then came England which established her colony in Virginia in North America. The immigrants there from England were not of one same group. They were divided into the following three groups.

1. The group of protestants who oppressed by the Roman Catholic Church wanted to establish in America an ideal self-governing community in order to live by the liberty of religious faith.

2. The colonists who were sent with the king's permission by the trading companies which wanted to occupy a large area of land.

3. The titled nobilities or those who had rendered service to the country in England who were sent by the king as his deputies in the new world.

Of the foregoing three groups, the first, the protestants, and the second, the immigrant colonists, appeared to be totally different elements who could never agree. The former escaped from the oppressive power of the church and of the king and nobilities and went to the new world forming their own group. That group was a spiritual and moral group which wanted to establish an ideal community in the new world where there was no history, no conventionalities and absolutely free, so that they might enjoy limitless spiritual free-

dom and happiness. The latter was a group of materialistic and selfish persons who became the tools of the trading companies empowered by the king and who wanted to get rich quick in the new world where man had not yet visited. But it is a mistake to think that the two wholly different groups, so far removed from each other as water is from oil, could not be blended together, because the fact that when the religious reform movement rose in central Europe and the northern Teutonic races joined it, it attained the success which it did as the newly risen commercial and industrial classes, which had regarded the feudalistic Roman Catholic Church as their enemy, have supported the movement. The struggle between the old church and the new was essentially a struggle between feudalism and commercialism. At that time, the Hapsburg family of Spain became the advance guard for maintaining the old religion in power and exterminating the new ideas. With France as the tool, Spain oppressed the new religion of the Teutonic nations. The conflict between James the First of England and the Parliament early in the 17th Century, was a complicated affair. The truth was that England was puzzled by the problem of whether she should ally with Spain, France and Holland, and remain under the sway of feudalism or she should fight Spain, France and Holland, and build up her national foundation upon commercialism and industrialism. The king and the nobilities tended toward feudalism and oppressed the commerce to win the favor of Spain. Whereupon, the Parliament which represented the commercial and industrial classes disobeyed the king and there was a conflict, the result of which was the revolution which took place then. Oliver Cromwell, dressed in his divine protestant robe of a priest, rose and inflicted a capital punishment to Charles the First. By the promulgation of the famous law of navigation, England declared a war upon Holland. The colonization of Virginia took place in the midst of those events. While it seemed that the protestants and the colonists sent by the trading companies were extremely different in their quality in reality their interests were identical in so far as they opposed to

the old religion represented by Spain and the feudalism of the day. The colonists sent by the trading companies unexpectedly early amalgamated with the protestant group, and were awakened by the spirit of self-government and independence. It was by no means an accidental development. They saw before their eyes the self-governing protestant group making a success of their little colony, and at the same time the clerks employed by the trading companies, only themselves being oppressed by the militaristic autocracy, found out also that the home government was not necessarily protecting their interests. They were keenly awakened to the necessity of respecting self-government and independence. From along 1619, the colonists began gradually to establish small local governments of their own here and there, and to conduct their own self-governing life away from the control of the companies which they have been serving. The spiritual barriers between them and the protestants were gradually removed. Then when the war took place between the colonists and the native Indians, their bond of unity became all the stronger and they prepared themselves thus to be able to stand the strain of the war of independence which came later.

(4). *The American Spirit of Independence.*

I have mentioned before that beside the protestants and the colonists sent by the trading companies there were a small number of nobilities and distinguished service persons who were sent by the king as his representatives. For instance, there were Duke of Baltimore, the younger brother of Charles the Second, Duke of York, Admiral Sir William Pen and others, who were sent to Maryland, near the Chesapeek Bay. These persons tended to introduce the evil practices of the old world in the continent of America. They were the more inimical elements than the colonists sent by the trading companies in the eyes of the protestants. Fortunately, they have not acquired much influence. They amalgamated with the great spirit of

self-government and independence and with the live and vigorous Americanism, only adding a sort of noble luster to the spirit.

As is plain from what I have explained so far, the independence of America was a foregone conclusion from the very beginning of the immigration of the protestants. Their immigration meant that they broke their ties from the feudalistic influences of Europe and established a nation for the third class of society, namely a purely commercial nation. Accordingly, what they feared most was the invasion by the feudalistic influences, the enemy of self-government and liberty, from Europe. They prevented at the mouth of the Mississippi the influence of France which came from Canada southward, bravely fighting its invasion. It was rather because they feared the feudalistic influences which would menace the life of self-government and liberty than because they wanted to show their patriotism to their mother country. From the close of the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th Century, whenever there was a war between their mother country of England and France, there was also a war in the colonies in America. That war in the colonies may be regarded as an extension of the war that in Europe. But we must not forget the fact that Virginia then was fighting against France with a different motive from that of England. In 1754, a war broke out between the colonies of England and France to determine the right of ownership of North America without any direct reference to the mother countries. In 1763, the British colonists finally drove away the French from Canada and Cape Breton. The New England which was able to drive the French away from Canada by her own strength without reference to the mother country was not to be expected long to submit to the injustices as to the profits of her enterprises because of navigation act or the trading act which restricted the freedom of commerce. The war of independence took place as a natural result.

In the mother country of England, after the death of Cromwell, Charles the Second was restored to the throne and the republican form of government was abolished. The king, however, was not the king

of bye-gone days. He came to the throne on condition that he shall follow the policy of Cromwell as it was and protect the interests of the commercial and industrial classes. The rulership over New England colonies was restored to the king. But that was not necessarily the wish of the king himself. It was because the commercial and industrial classes in the mother country disliked the idea of the colonies engaging in commercial activities freely and without trammel. In short, the mother country established the foundation policy of commercial nation which was adopted by Cromwell without reference to the restoration in power of Charles the Second. In regard to the colonies in America, attempts were made to apply feudalism in the name of the king and to restrict the freedom of commerce by means of the trading act and the navigation act. That was the cause of the war of independence. That the people of New England fought for about 80 years from 1688 to 1763, against all sorts of hardships and driving the French influence away from the North American Continent, was because they wanted to exclude the feudalistic influences which absolutely could not go together with the spirit of self-government. With the same spirit they fought against their mother country of England in 1775, in the war of independence. The declaration of independence which was drafted by Thomas Jefferson said in part, "All men were created equal. God has granted all men the same privileges." While the declaration was couched in such a beautiful language, what is referred to as freedom or equality referred in effect to commercial freedom and equality of the share of profits.

(5). *The American Enthusiasm For Protecting the National Government System.*

The foregoing was a summary of the knowledge of history given in the smallest degree necessary to understand the American principle and the spirit of the Americans. As there is an unshakable national ideal of solidarity in Japan, so there is an unshakable national ideal

of solidarity also in America. America is proud of her democracy, pure and undefiled by the feudalistic influences, which the Americans regard as being of the superior quality, uncompered by any other country in the world. The democracy of Europe is one which was attained by compromises with the feudalistic influences or by fighting against them. It is a mixed democracy. In a country of Europe, the nobilities and priests of the feudalistic period still remain in society as specially privileged classes. In another country, they became bureaucrats, militarists or as genro. All of them retain their titles, marks of distinction and ranks under the system of symbols of distinguished honors. America is the country where the system of symbols flourished the least in the world. The Americans in order to preserve their pure and undefiled democracy has fought against France and against England for many years. In 1823, she issued a declaration which is known as the Monroe Doctrine, which sent forth: (1), European countries shall not indiscriminately colonize the American continents; (2), the United States of North America shall not interfere with the European politics: and in return, (3), the European nations shall not attempt to extend their political systems to the American continents. The doctrine was couched in a very abstract language. But the first clause of the doctrine proclaimed to the world the spirit with which America objected to the Russian occupation of the north-western coast. The second and the third clauses were written in the spirit of objecting to the attempts of the Holy Alliance to interfere with the affairs of North and South Americas on behalf of Spain. After the French Revolution, the European feudalism was preserved by Russia and the Holy Alliance which included Russia. America rightly hated it. America does not exclude the Japanese alone. According to history, she excluded France, Spain, the mother country of England, Russia and the Holy Alliance. The exclusion is now turning toward Japan. The exclusion of the Japanese immigrants may be different in meaning from the exclusion of the political system of Japan. But the Americans say that the Japanese are a race who

cannot be amalgamated. If they are naturalized in America, they will retain their life as Japanese mentally and materially, so they believe. Aside from the question whether it is a proper thing for America to endeavor thus to prevent transplantation of the political system of the old world even in the least, we must understand properly that the Americans consider that their ideal of national solidarity is unshakable and the best in the world of which they may be proud.

The American political system can only be understood after the American principle is understood. Why should the Americans who feared in the extreme the invasion from Europe of the feudalistic influences transplant the two-house system of Congress from Europe? In September 9, 1778, the articles of confederation were promulgated, and in 1781, the federation of the thirteen states was brought to being. At that time, by the advocacy of Benjamin Franklin the one house system of Congress was adopted. That was a proper step to take in view of the American principle of national foundation. When there was no class distinctions there was no reason why there should be a senate. But practice is different from theory. In 6 years from 1781 to 1787, the experience has taught the Americans that the one-house system of legislature was fraught with various evils, so that the administrative affairs could not be carried on smoothly. Then men like Baldwin, Hamilton and others started a new movement for drafting the Constitution, and in 1787, the two-house system was adopted. The two-house system may appear to a casual observer as if America had surrendered to the European political system. But the fact was not so. The upper house in a European legislature is different in character from the senate in America. In Europe, the upper house generally represented the power of the feudalistic nobilities. But in America, the house of representatives has been a direct representative organ for the people of different states, with the representatives apportioned to the population, while the senate has been an institution where several states were equally represented regardless of the number of population. Originally; the senators were elected indirectly by the legislature of

several states. But in 1913, the senators have come to be elected directly by the people as is the case with the members of the house of representatives. The two-house system which was an ideal system has at last been perfected to conform to the principle of democracy. That ideal of two-house system has now been carried over to Europe, and in England and other European countries efforts are made to reform the upper house and to drive away the feudalistic influences from the political affairs. The American system of government developed in accordance with the history of founding of that country. It should not be hastily judged that the system is far better in comparison with those of other countries. It is, however, a peculiarity of America, throughout her social and political systems, that not a shadow of feudalistic influences can be seen in them. We must first fully understand that peculiarity.

(6) *Labor for Human Service.*

Thus America from the beginning of the immigration of the protestants was predestined to become a purely industrial country in contradistinction to the countries of the old world. When one observes America today, as to how the productive activities of the Americans are almost overwhelming the mankind of the whole world, how in the amounts of agricultural production, in the length of railways, the tonnage of ships, the amounts of foreign exportation, the boast that America is always "the First in the World," and how they boast of their "bigness" by showing various extraordinary statistics, no one cannot but entertain a degree of resentment. If seen with a resentment, it will appear as if there were no people so given to materialism, utilitarianism and the idea of almighty dollar as the Americans. It may appear also when the Americans are accomplishing wonderful developments by opening up the natural resources by their extraordinary efforts and industry, by inventing machinery and tools, thereby applying the force of nature in agriculture, industry and commerce,

that they are doing those things for their selfish motives, and that if from the Americans money-making, speculation, adventure, and extravagance are taken away, nothing will remain behind them. But such view does not properly understand the spirit of the Americans. America was foreordained by history to become the first commercial nation in the world. No one denies the fact that business is the very life of the Americans. But the Americans face business as the poets face nature, as artists face their subjects of sketch, and as scholars address their subjects of study. The Americans are urged on by the precious blood handed down by their ancestors and are impelled by heaven-sent impressions. With such lofty spirit alone was made possible the prosperity which America enjoys today. If as some people believe there was to remain nothing behind if money-making, speculation, adventure and extravagance were taken away from the Americans, the development of America so far might not have been possible. America might have fallen long ago. The ardent love of freedom and the indomitable spirit of the forefathers who have landed in a corner of Cape Cod where they went aboard very dangerous sailing vessels early in the 17th Century still runs in the red blood of the Americans today. The idea of labor for human service or labor for labor's sake, pervades the mind of the Americans, whether they be steel kings or newspaper peddlers, oil kings or milk men. A son of a millionaire who is drunk in the strong perfume of "American Beauty," while lying idly in a fashionable hotel on Fifth Avenue, once reading the history of America, and learning how his ancestors have vigorously fought against the power of nature, broken up the forests, reclaimed the marshes, levelled hills, tilled the prairies into farms and showed the courage and faith in their ability to win in the fight, will certainly resolutely awaken from the dreams of extravagance, break away from the yoke of personal habits and will show the determination to fight as his forefathers did like a man with bare hand and nothing to aid him. Such a great spirit certainly still exists today in the Americans handed down from the past. The Americans have opened up nature thus.

Consequently, there is some amount of rough character in the method of agriculture employed by them and there is room for improvement in their method of employment of land and increasing of products, yet the very roughness of the method rather shows the true American spirit.

In short, one phase of the Americanism is the faith in the sacredness of labor. Man should work not because he wants to indulge in ease after he shall have made a success and name for himself. Labor is the mission of man. It is a crime to eat without working for it. There is no military clique, no aristocrats, no system of symbols which supports the feudalistic spirit in America. There is no class distinction between different occupations. To wash dishes, carry coal, become a manager of a great corporation or the occupant of the White House, are alike ways of serving society. Poor students employ their summer vacation periods to serve as hotel boys, or firemen in factories, or helping hands in farms; they engage cheerfully in the work to help themselves. If there were anything in America of which a man may be ashamed of, it is to eat without working for it. There is not one business man in America who, because he has amassed a million or a half million of fortune, is carried away by the thought of his wealth and indulge in spending his time in night revelry in questionable houses, in toying with curios, having his life history of success printed in a magazine, and is proud of himself as we find in Japan. That is where it was possible for America to have attained the present condition of prosperity by opening up nature and employing its force, thus gathering the riches of the world and compelling the rest of the nations of the world to occupy the position of economic dependents.

(7) *The Commercial Conscience of the Americans.*

The American spirit as I have described before works equally in the commercial undertakings. As I have said before, America has been a commercial nation from her birth. Business is the life of the Americans, their pleasure and aspiration. The Americans indulge

work not necessarily because they want to become rich, but they indulge in work for the sake of work. Business is the art for the Americans. In that respect, the European business men are not so single-minded as the Americans. They have an air of the samurai in business. They work for living because they must. If they do not find difficulty of living, they would live a little more artistic life in their old age. In other words, there is a tendency to scorn business. That is the remnant habit from the feudal days. In Japan this tendency is all the more remarkable. But the Americans have not a particle of it. To them business is at once art. They engage in commerce not because they want to accumulate dollars. But they indulge in business for the sake of enjoying business.

Artists have artist conscience, scholars have scholastic conscience. So the Americans have business conscience, that is the commercial morality. That is the most powerful cause for the business success of the Americans, the business conscience or the commercial morality. The Americans are generally known as a genius in advertisement. Our business advertisement learnt much of its art from America. The Flat Iron Building, the Singer Building, the Metropolitan Building and other big buildings of New York bespeak the American boatfulness in a sense and in another sense they bespeak the valuelessness of the price of land in New York, especially in the Manhattan island. However beastful the Americans may be, they would not invest large fortunes to building devilish big buildings if unnecessary. The big buildings in New York means in a sense the use of the air space because of the high price of land. At the same time, they mean that the Americans are skilful in the art of advertisement. A curiosity monger in China sent a letter to a certain person, addressed to the Singer Building without even mentioning America or New York. The letter reached the addressee without any fuss at all. How remarkable the value of skyscrapers is for advertisement can be seen. The Americans are thus fond of advertising and are adept at advertising. But the Americans do not lack in business morality because of

their love of advertisement. The Americans do not sell questionable articles by any means. They make efforts to produce goods after pains-taking industry in order not to betray the confidence of their customers. They advertise in a thoroughly penetrating manner, skilfully and beautifully. No wonder that the Americans overwhelm the world in business. But our Japanese business men have learnt only the art of advertisement from America and manufacture inferior articles. In some cases, the goods are not worthy of use. How can dare these Japanese reproach the Americans for their materialism, utilitarianism, and the idea of almighty dollar?

Certainly, there are occasions when the critics of the present day business system as a social problem rebuke certain rich men for for the method employed by them in amassing fortunes. For instance, it is a fact that Mr. Rockefeller of the Standard Oil Company was once called names by devils because of his enterprises. But that criticism was directed wholly apart from the question of business morality. It was not because Mr. Rockefeller lacked business conscience. As a business man, Mr. Rockefeller was a respectable, trustworthy gentleman who did not lack in business morality at all. Contracts involving several hundred thousand dollars and several thousand men are always entered into verbally. That shows how his words are honored. The Americans have that spirit, that conscience in business dealings. No wonder that they win in their economic competition with other powers and began to proclaim their suzerainty over the world,

(8) *The American Ideal As To Money.*

There are some persons who regard America as the chief temple of money-worship and the Americans as the second Jews. Especially, that view is deeply impressed upon the minds of the Japanese. If we only saw the dark side of the American civilization and pointed out the defects of the Americans alone, there are many other things which I may say. But today, no matter how great their resentment

of the Americans, the European nations do not call the Americans names, such as money-worshippers, lovers of coins or money hoarders, to ridicule them. That is a mistaken view of the Americans, because the American attitude toward money rather bespeaks their good and noble points.

If the Americans were sharp as to money dealings, it is in regard to the relations of labor and compensation. In demanding compensation for labor and when they want to enter a contract to leave nothing more to the desired the Americans do not hesitate to demand what they believe to be proper. That straightforwardness and simplicity could also be noted in the Bushido of old Japan. The spirit of the Kamakura bushi, the warriors of the Kamakura Period, was that. Spoken of alike as Bushido, Bushido of the periods of Kamakura and Muromachi was different from that of the Tokugawa Period. In the Kamakura Period, the economy was of land economy, and the bushi worked for the sake of grants for distinguished services. They were not ashamed of talking about the grants. That practice extended down through the Muromachi Period until the Oda and Toyotomi Periods. In the Tokugawa Period, the land economy system was completely destroyed and currency economy replaced it. As result of Iyeyasu having been placed in a difficulty to solve the problem of how to maintain the land economy systems, he devised a compromise system of feudalism. By means of Chinese learnings of Confucianism, he cherished in the bushi the sentiment of despising money to the extreme degree. That the Japanese of today regard mentioning of money as a thing unworthy of a gentleman and do not speak outright what they want in entering contracts for compensation, is a remnant of the Bushido influence of the Tokugawa Period. From the view point of meaning of scornfulness of money of the Japanese, the Americans may certainly appears as being sharp in money matters. But once they enter a contract, the Americans will fulfill their part in consideration of the compensation, They do not harbor dissatisfaction at heart. In case surrounding conditions change and a need for alter-

ing the contract should rise, they will demand that the change be made outright. The Japanese make indefinite contracts at the beginning and harbor discontent at heart and neglect their duty. The American sharpness in money matters is not a thing to be despised, but it is a beautiful characteristic.

There are many things which may be mentioned to prove that the Americans are not money-worshippers nor slaves of money. That the Americans are born business men and that they love to make money, is a fact. But in despising money-making which is unreasonable, the Americans are strongest in the world. In Japan, the system of jisan kin, woman bringing fortunes to her husband in marriage, is rather despised. But in reality, the system is widely practiced. The practice is especially prevalent in the marriages of the Imperial university graduates. What a despicable idea for the young men to wish to marry daughters of noted families or wealthy families, in order to rise in society by means of the money brought by their brides. Yet there are many such light-hearted scornful young men. The graduates of law schools make it a condition of marriage that their travelling expenses abroad be met or the medical practitioners make it their condition of marriage that their expenses of opening the offices or establishing hospitals be met, thus becoming the would be bridegrooms for the daughters of wealthy families, or adopted sons of noted families. Such practices are what we hear of very often in Japan. It is indeed a regrettable practice. But in America there is no such system as the jinsan kin. A daughter of a family, however rich, when married to a man, is expected to work sweating in her brow together with her husband in order to open new fortunes for themselves and by themselves. If her parents should die, she may inherit the fortunes left as a legacy. But it is regarded as an extremely despicable thing to receive assistance from the family of the parents of the wife. It is understood that in reality such practice is very rare in America.

Speculation in business is a proper thing to engage, so long as the business system is not destroyed thereby. In America, not only busi-

ness men but also men of various walks of life have speculative spirit. Especially the taste for speculation in shares has remarkably been socialized. Drivers of automobiles, cooks of hotels, teachers of schools, newspaper men, and men of other occupations are frequenters of the share market. They have sanctified speculation. Yet they despise gambling more than the people of Europe do. The social restraint on lottery or gambling is very strong in America. No matter how, popular a man may be, if he should be found out as having frequented a gambling place, he will at once lose his reputation. It is a well known fact that Mr. Charles Schwab, a close friend of Carnegie, was socially dishonored because it was learnt that he visited the gambling place in Monaco.

That the Americans are not money-worshippers, can be seen from the fact that they offer their wealth which they have accumulated after years of hard work without any thought of regret to contribute to public service enterprises. Thus they make it felt that in deed that the immense fortunes are not the possession of one man, but the common possession of society. Some people may think that the contributions by the wealthy Americans were the result of pressure of social class struggles. Others may think that the contributors want to have monuments erected behind them, thus to satisfy their vanity. Still others may regard that the benefactors want greater returns to themselves in consideration of the gifts which they have made. Be that what it may, the American acts of making contributions are wonderful. However loudly the critics may denounce, the greatness of the acts of contributions cannot be cancelled. In Japan there is not even a man who imitates the Americans in the acts. When Prince Katsura died, some Japanese wanted to withdraw their offers of contributions to the fund for the Saiseikwai, charity hospital association founded by the prince in his life time. Such have no qualification to ridicule the money-worship, if any, of the Americans. The great contributions made by Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Kenedy explain the American ideal as to

wealth. They express what I call the American spirit.

(9). *Distant Between Novice and Expert.*

In America, the distance between the expert or specialist and the novice is very short. Any novice can become an expert if he makes efforts, thereby overwhelming specialists, which is a faith which controls the head of the Americans very strongly. That too may be called one of the beautiful traits of democracy.

In America every one is a statesman, an expert engineer, and a scholar. Long, who was the secretary of navy under President McKinley, said, "When I heard a man who lived in a country town in the northern part of Maine, after he read newspapers and magazines from New York or Boston, discuss eloquently the events of the day, I found him possessing intelligence and power of understanding things, so much so that he could be placed in a position of the cabinet without any shortcomings at all." In America the difference between the lectures given for laymen and for experts is not so great as in other countries, especially as in Japan. For instance, when the budget is a very important thing, so much so that representative government is a government of budget, in Japan the budget is regarded as too difficult for laymen to understand, and it is left to the so-called specialist statesmen. The people do not listen except to speeches which are light-heartedly delivered to please the novices. More aggravating is the fact that the expert lectures by specialists are not understood even by newspaper men. But in America, the difference is not so great. It is same as in other countries that cheap and spread-eagle addresses appeal to the general audience. But the Americans do listen attentively to dry lectures by specialists. They make efforts to understand them. For instance, in reference to the question of currency, which is not as a rule so very attractive subject to talk about, the

Americans will listen to lectures on that subject if they think that the lectures will concern their interests. They study carefully and then decide their vote, In that respect, they show their quality of a self-governing people, such as one cannot note in European countries. In short, there is no obstacle in the way of an individual to make his way. A boy, a cook, a porter, or a cow boy believe they can equally become the president of the United States, if they only made efforts. That may be regarded as an expression of the spirit of democracy.

That peculiarity can be noted also in the circles of learning and arts. The Americans are as a rule excellent in applying principles in practice. Among laymen there are many who invent machines or tools. The remarkable past progress of industry in America is largely owing to that peculiar quality of the Americans. For instance, Edison, Bell or Tesla and other great inventors rose from among laymen. In America, the number of applications for patent filed is enormous every year. But not all of them are filed by expert engineers or specialists. In Japan, too, laymen began gradually to make remarkable inventions. That is due to the fact after all that the oppressions of the feudalism which had hindered development of life of the people were done away with, so that it has become possible to attain results by even the commercial men, farmers and persons of any classes, if they only worked hard enough. But in Japan, experts are still very much depended upon for making inventions.

This consideration is same in respect of learning. For scholars to stay closeted in a laboratory in his school and to despise to participate in practical affairs of society, it is also a remnant habit of feudalism. The harmony between learning and practice is a thing in which the British, the people of the country of forefathers of America, are the geniuses. The British possessing that genius have won their place of eminence in the world. The Americans have inherited the British blood and then have added luster to the genius. In America, the distance between university and society is

little. Dr. Charles Elliot who had been the president of Harvard University was a sincere scholar and at the same time a straightforward critic of current events. It may not be wide of the mark to say that at one time the public opinion in America has been led by Dr. Elliot. Mr. Wilson who had been in the lime light on the world stage during the world war had been a university professor. On the other hand men like Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt, Shailer and other historians and great economic authorities had no connections with any university. Among the lawyers, physicians or religious workers, there are scholars who can publish their opinions as scholars without any misgiving. In short, the harmony between learning and practice was originally established in England and was perfected in America.

CHAPTER 2.—WORLD CAPITALISM OF AMERICA.

(1). *From Agricultural Country to Commercial and Industrial Country.*

I have briefly described in the foregoing chapter the American ideal of national solidarity and the American spirit. In the present chapter, I shall go a step further to describe how that ideal and the national spirit of America has worked in reference to foreign countries. What was the thing which America proclaimed to the world as justice and humanity? In Japan today the American declaration of justice and humanity is at once regarded as a travesty. I shall, however, try to understand the American declaration of justice and humanity properly as I have tried in the foregoing chapter from the American standpoint and then from an unbiased view point as much as possible, setting aside various nationalistic antipathies and race prejudices.

As I have said before, the colonists of New England, who were the forerunners of America, were various in their character.

Some of them were protestants, others immigrants sent by the trading companies. Casually observed, the one group represented spiritualism and the other the materialism, the two extremely opposite elements, so that it might be thought a difficult proposition to have the two elements blended together under one principle. But looked at from another angle, the two elements have escaped from the feudalistic influences and the oppressions by nobilities and church authorities, in order to find a new world where no historical conventionalities existed and where no man has yet visited, so that they may establish a self-governing community absolutely free from the spiritual and material point of view. In that respect, the two elements were one. In other words, America from the beginning of her founding had two apparently inconsistent elements, and at the same time the two elements had a common aim to escape from the yoke of feudalism, so that they could easily unite, thereby speedily forming a spiritual unity of the people. Mr. Murhead, the compiler of the Baedeker's Guide, said that the American customs, manners and civilization were filled with inconsistencies of the two extremes. He went so far as to exclaim that America is a "Land of Inconsistencies." But inconsistencies of customs, manners and civilization exist in Russia and also in Japan. In a more strict sense, there is no great nation which does not combine in it great inconsistencies. In the case of America, from the beginning of her founding, there were the two inconsistent elements, one the spiritual humanity of the protestants, and the other the commercial freedom of the immigrants sent by the trading companies. Those two inconsistent principles were blended together before the common aim, the aim of anti-feudalism, resulting in the Americanism; in other words, American democracy. But the two inconsistent elements could not but show themselves at turns of events. While it may be said that America's profession of justice and humanity is the prayer of a devil or a reading of the scripture by a wolf, there will be no such thing possible in the world as justice and humanity if

the world is looked at from one's own point of view alone and the point of view of others were altogether disregarded. The protestations of justice and humanity will in the end become mere Machaevelian tactics between enemies. I am now trying to study America away from such stand point. America is a business country full of vigor which was founded by breaking away from the feudalistic influences and historical conventionalities, which were the common disturbing elements for the world in the way of freedom of commerce and trade. She is a lively trade nation. Business is the born occupation for America. Indeed, the eventual result of the satisfaction of America's born desires will be an Imperialistic expansion, and world capitalism. America as a naturrl process of her colonization passed through the agricultural stage, gradually shifting into the commercial stage. Along with the development of commercialism, the American attitude toward the world has changed from what it was in the past. To be more precise, the meaning of justice and humanity which is so generally spoken of has changed along with the development of America's industry, and different periods. What I want to study in the present chapter is what has been the meaning of America's justice and humanity toward the world, how the ideas have changed along with the development of the American industry, in order to know the process of the changes.

(2) *From Independence on Land to Freedom on the Sea.*

In 75 years from 1689 to 1763, there were in all four wars. The French were driven away by the British from North America. Those wars were fought, needless to say, to gain supremacy in Europe, where Spain and Holland having declined, England and France struggled. one standing for protestantism and commercialism, and the other for the old religion and feudalism. If the British of New England had not the spirit of independence and freedom, the colonies should not have found it necessary to fight even if the mother country had fought ; be-

cause the two countries of England and France in Europe fought not for the sake of the colonies. But the British of the New England regardless of whether the mother country fought or not, were obliged to fight the French in Canada, because the British of the New England were united in the attempt to prevent the feudalism of Europe and the power of the priests from entering the new world even by one step. To permit the French to establish their colonies in the plain of the Mississippi river, which is the source of natural wealth of North America would mean that the fundamental object of the British in colonizing the new world would be defeated. Even if there were no war fought by their mother country, they were obliged to fight their own battle against the French. That was how the war between England and France was also transplanted in the new world. So, from 1754 to 1763, the war between the British and the French colonies was fought without direct reference to the war of their respective mother countries. The spirit of independence of New England was plainly noted in the colonial war of 1754. The British of New England did not hate France so much as the French. At the same time, they rejected France which was the base of the old religion and the representative nation of the feudalism of Europe. Therefore, when the French Revolution took place and the commercial and industrial classes of France fought against the Holy Alliance, including England, the Americans declared neutrality and they wanted even to go to the length of assisting France even by calling President George Washington a betrayer of the nation. The war of independence of 1775 was the conclusion to the chapter of the exclusion of the French. The war of 1754 to drive the French away was a prelude to the war of independence.

In 1783, England by the treaty of peace of Paris recognized the American independence. But that was only in name. It meant only that at that time the British withdrew their troops from America. But the powerful British fleet still strictly maintained the blockade of the Atlantic ocean, so that the so-called "freedom of the

sea" in reality was not recognized. Ever since then, America for 35 years had her freedom of trade restricted under the pressure of the British navy. In 1812, America declared a war against England again in order to secure the freedom of trade and the freedom of navigation. It is interesting to note that there are historians who call the war of 1812 a second war of independence. Indeed, America secured her independence on land by the treaty of Paris of 1783 and her independence on the sea by the treaty of Ghent of 1814. In other words, America in 75 years from 1689 to 1763 fought against the feudalism of France and in 50 years from 1775 to 1814 fought against the feudalism of England. England had been a representative nation only toward the Jesuits of Spain and France, of the new religion and the forerunner of commercialism. But toward America, England did not permit freedom of commerce which she herself valued so much. In the name of the king, England had issued the trade act, the navigation act and with feudalism bound the freedom of commercial activities of the colonies. So, in 1689, America declared war upon the feudalism of Europe, and in 1814 she attained a complete success in removing the oppression of Europe. That was the significance of the American independence. The American justice and humanity of these 25 years was for removing the oppression of the feudalistic influences of Europe and establishing a pure and undefiled democracy. I shall below summarize what I have said before.

American Justice and Humanity of the First Period (To remove the oppression of the feudalistic influences of Europe and to establish pure and undefiled democracy —1689 to 1814).

(1) War Against the Feudalism of France (beginning in 1689 and ending in 1763).

(2) War Against the Feudalism of England (beginning in 1775 and ending in 1814).

(3) History of the Monroe Doctrine and Its Significance.

The first period of American history passed thus. The foundation of the independence of the United States was laid. What should come next must be the period of fulfilment of the country as a great business nation. Then America must face the period of replenishing the national strength at home and prepare for activities abroad. The industry of America which made that country the richest among the nations of the world developed during that period. The peculiar situation of America of the period of fulfilment and of preparation was shown in terms of her international relations as revealed in the Monroe Doctrine.

As I have briefly outlined in the preceedihg chapter, the direct motives for the Monroe Doctrine were the occupation of the north-western coast of America by Russia and the interference in the affairs of South America by the Holy Alliance. I shall first relate the history of the Monroe Doctrine.

After the second war of independence was ended, in 9 years Russia under Alexander the First attempted to come down southward from Alaska to occupy the entire north-western coast of North America. Russia which had forged forth as one of the powers of Europe by the efforts of Peter the Great already became the main strength of the Holy Alliance under Alexander the First. She allied with England and by burning the city of Moscow gave a death blow to Napoleon. Such was the greatness of Alexander the First. After the banishment of Napoleon, Russia became a tool of Metternich and interfered with the domestic political affairs of the nations of Europe. Alexander must have been well aware of the trend of development of the world. He foresaw that America in order to avoid friction with England would eventually come out to the western coast and develop herself on the Pacific Ocean. He foresaw that in future America would come into conflict with Russia in the affairs of the Orient. He wanted, therefore, first to occupy the entire north-western coast of America. In 1821, 26 years before the discovery of the famous gold mines, California was, needless to say, a baren uninhabited prairy land.

When the news that Russia began to colonize in California reached America, that country rose in indignation and strongly protested against the Russian plan, and at the same time gave a warning to European countries.

“European nations shall no longer have the right freely to colonize in the two continents of America.”

The designs of America upon the Pacific Ocean were really revealed at that time,

When America was busy engaged in negotiations with Russia in regard to the question of the Pacific coast, a much more formidable hand of interference was extended on the east from Europe. That was the plan of the Holy Alliance to bring a pressure upon the republics of South America. After the American war of independence came the French Revolution. The mind of the people of the world was very much agitated by the effects of those wars. In South America, the little republics of Chile, Peru, Buenos Aires and Columbia rose having declared independence from Spain. Spain appealed to the Holy Alliance and requested an interference. But the Holy Alliance did not see the necessity of going over across the Atlantic Ocean in order to quell the revolutionary movements. So at first, the Holy Alliance refused to consider the Spanish proposition. But since Spain appealed insistently the Alliance finally agreed to take the matter up in 1823, and decided to interfere in the affairs of South American republics. First, the Alliance consulted England. England did not like the idea of the Holy Alliance interfering with the affairs of South America, because England had regarded the Atlantic Ocean as her sphere of influence and the American continents as her customers. If the Holy Alliance should bring a pressure upon South American republics, it will mean that the influence of Prussia and Austria will be introduced in South America. But England does not care to oppose the plan herself. So she told Rush, the American minister, secretly about the plan of the Alliance, with the idea of directing America to oppose the plan frontally. Since the first war of independence, England and

America had been in a state of hostile relationship with each other. But now for the first time the two nations came to cooperate with each other. They were united in rejecting the European influence from the two American continents. America, then, secured the British understanding, and issued a declaration addressed to the European Continent, embodying three articles, inclusive of the protest to Russia of 1821. It was in 1823 and the signer of the declaration was needless to say President Monroe of the time. The actual work of formulating the declaration was done by John Adams, the secretary of state. I shall give below the three articles of the Monroe Doctrine.

(1) On colonization: while speaking of the north-west coast, Monroe said that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

(2) On interposition: in discussing the proposed intervention by European powers against the Latin-American states, the message says that "interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power" would be considered unfriendly to the United States.

(3) On the European political system: the doctrine runs, "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Of the foregoing three articles, the first refers to the question of Russian occupation of the north-western coast. The second and the third refer to the attempt on the part of the Holy Alliance to interfere in South America. There is nothing to wonder if the United States protested against foreign interference and oppression in the affairs of the United States. But it appears as an improper thing for a newly risen republic to declare, immediately after the independence of herself was secured, to the European nations having an older history back of them, assuming that the two American continents are the sphere of influence of herself. But it was the power of England which made

that declaration reasonable and effective. England indeed supported the Monroe Doctrine. To maintain the status quo of the two American continents was at least consistent with the interests of England and America.

The American justice and humanity after the treaty of Ghent was concluded in 1814 was expressed in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823.

(4) *Spirit of Inducing and Directing Japan.*

I have stated before that England was behind America in reference to the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine was at any rate accepted by the world as the American justice. America fought vigorously against France from the colonial period in order to prevent the feudal influences of Europe or any political system compromised with such influences from encroaching upon the new world and also against the mother country of England, paying extraordinary sacrifices. Why should she acquiesce in silence in the plan of the Russian colonization in America? Why could she acquiesce in the attempt of the Holy Alliance to interfere in the affairs of South America? Russia and the Holy Alliance are both the crystals of the feudal influences. Judged from the point of view of their menace to the American democracy, Russia and the Holy Alliance are far more to be feared than France and England. That America protested against Russia and the Holy Alliance and declared that protest in the abstract form of the Monroe Doctrine was indeed a reasonable thing to do. Especially, in the Monroe Doctrine, it was declared that America had no political design in Europe.

The conclusion of the Monroe Doctrine has enabled America to make a rapid development in the direction of the Pacific Ocean. For America to show her good will toward England in return for the backing of England for the Monroe Doctrine was to refrain from insisting upon the commercial rights on the Atlantic Ocean. If she showed deference to England on the Atlantic Ocean, America

must advance toward the Pacific Ocean. Twenty five years after the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, the famous gold mines were discovered in California by James Marshal. The state made a rapid progress so that it was reported that 80,000 immigrants were added to the population in one year. The immigrants there were all picked adventurers. When the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean was opened to the view of those adventurers, there was no way by which Japan could long maintain her policy of seclusion. Since then, America's whaling vessels appeared very often in the Orient. America in competition with avaricious and nervy Russia in breaking open the door of Japan. On the 30th year after the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, that is on July 8, 1853, Commodore Perry commanding a fleet of four vessels of war entered the bay of Uraga, and he demanded intercourse with the Yedo government. To be sure, America had her eye on Japan before the discovery of the gold mines in California. In 1844, that is 22 years after the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, President Tyler urged on Japan through the government of Holland that she open her door to foreign intercourse. He illustrated his remarks by quoting the example of the Opium War in China and in a friendly manner called upon the government of the Shogun to reflect. The discovery of gold mines in California took place two years after. After that, the American government all the more keenly felt the need of having Japan open her door. In 1852, it sent Commodore Perry as the envoy after careful preparations and a firm determination have been made. At that time, the president of the United States was Franklin Filmore.

The Japanese until recently have regarded America as the benefactor of Japan for opening the country and respected that country as Japan's teacher or father. A peculiar friendship was maintained. But after the Russo-Japanese War, the movement for exclusion of Japanese rose in California and the conflict of interests of the two nations on the Pacific Ocean gradually became more and

more intense. Then a small section of the Japanese began to raise a loud voice denouncing America's economic aggressiveness. They ridiculed the American profession of justice and humanity, and they would not rest content until all the actions of America toward Japan have been regarded with bad faith. A section of knowing persons all at once raised an outcry to cast suspicion on the motive of Commodore Perry's visit to Japan. They maintained that Commodore Perry rejecting the advice of Sieboft entered with his fleet the bay near Yedo, instead of Nagasaki, in order to overawe Japan, as if the critics have taken hold of a devil's head. But that was a historical fact which was plain to every one from the beginning. Before Perry came to Japan, America studied Japan's national conditions thoroughly. Perry knew full well that what he was doing was against the national prohibition in Japan. Yet he purposely avoided entering Nagasaki and entered Uraga. Thus, until he succeeded on March 31, 1854, in convincing the Yedo government of the advisability of taking his suggestion and in concluding the treaty of Kanagawa, he showed both a stern and lenient attitudes. He showed an extraordinary degree of generosity, as a loving mother does toward her child. Especially note-worthy is the fact that in making the treaty of Kanagawa he grasped the main facts of our national conditions and national characteristics and avoiding to meddle with problems which were difficult to solve went direct to attain the aim of speedy opening of the country. Such attitude should not be interpreted as that of a man with a design upon an ordinary aggressiveness. That the fleet menaced the near-by water of Yedo and entered Uraga in violation of the prohibitory law of the country may be interpreted in any way if it is considered in bad faith. But boldness and daring is the traditional spirit of the American pioneers. Quick action and instant decision are the secrets of success of business men. The Americans possessing the bold and daring spirit of pioneers and the quickness of action of business men have addressed Japan. At the same time, they taught and guided

Japan with the universal brotherhood and kindness of the protestants. In the actions of America in directing and opening up Japan one can note that the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine was certainly alive. The inconsistency of the American spirit was clearly to be noted in her attitude toward Japan in opening up the country. But any one who interpret the American designs in opening up Japan with suspicion and misgivings does not know the whole truth. He understands one feature of the American spirit and fails to understand the other other feature.

(5) *Civil War and America's Commercial and Industrial Unity.*

The inconsistency of the principle of humanity and utilitarianism in America was also noted in the slave question which was the cause of the Civil War. That the pioneers of the new world should commence from the stage of agriculture and advance toward commercial and industrial enterprises, was only a natural order of things. When at first the thirteen states had belonged to England, each of the states had a system of slaves to let them break the land for cultivation and to engage in agriculture. But together with the formation of the United States, the population gradually spread north and southward, and to the central part of the country. In 1822, the number of states of the union adding the newly acquired states reached to 22. The colonies of the earlier period in no time passed the agricultural stage and advanced toward the commercial and industrial stage. The need of slaves was considerably decreased. So, each state began to establish a law of its own to prohibit importation of slaves, and was intent upon maintaining the dignity as a civilization nation. But in the newly acquired section of the south, agriculture had still been the chief occupation. Slaves were indispensable instruments of industry for raising tobacco, cotton, wheat and sugar. They were also valuable private property of their owners. The south opposed the northern view of humanity. Thus

the situation developed of the north and the south breaking apart. Whereupon, the American government, on the occasion of the entry of the Mississippi state, established a dividing line at 36 degrees north latitude in regard to the law of prohibition of slaves, thereby intending to bring about a compromise of north and south. But the northerners, from the point of view of humanity, more strongly opposed the slave system, and insisted upon their emancipation. In 1854, when Kansas and Nebraska were newly added to the Union, the Missouri Compromise was broken. In 1860, when Abraham Lincoln, the leader of emancipation of slaves, was elected the president, South Carolina declared independence and broke away from the Union. Until February 1, the next year, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, the six states, joined South Carolina and established the Confederation of America. Jefferson Davis was chosen as the president of the confederation for a term of six years. Lincoln seeing that the conflict of north and south could not be avoided, commenced enrolling national guards. At the same time, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the four states which adjoined the southern states, joined on the side of the the Federal government. Thus the situation of north and south antagonizing each other was developed. The north consisted of 23 states, with a total population of 22,000,000, and the south of 11 states, with a total population of 9,000,000. The issue of slave system was to be decided at the point of the gun.

The Civil War, viewed from the economic stand point, was a conflict between the commercialism of the north and the agriculturism of the south, the interests of the two sections conflicting. By that war, the southern agriculturism came to be controlled by the northern commercialism, the two sections thus having been united. Thereupon, the commercial and industrial capitalism has been perfected. If America was, as is understood by a section of our people a country single-minded for utilitarianism, and if gold, materialistic things, speculation and adventure were all that America stands for, the Civil

War might not have taken place, because the Civil War cannot be interpreted properly if considered merely as a conflict of materialistic interests. Agriculturism and commercialism do not coincide in one sense but in another sense agriculturism should precede commercialism in the course of development of the latter. The two are not such things as they must conflict. In America, the agricultural land of the south has always been the market for the products of the northern commercial districts, and the northern commercial districts have always been the suppliers of capital to the southern agricultural land. From that view point, it may not have been necessary for the north and the south to engage in a war. But the north and the south were compelled to go to a war against each other, because in the blood of the northerners lived the spirit of humanity since the founding of the Republic. No temporizing compromise was permissible. The address delivered by President Lincoln on the occasion of dedication of the monument erected on a hill at Gettysburg, while viewing the ruins of the battle where General Meade died, is regarded as a symbol of of great eloquence, terse in form but uncomparred in excellence. The address was completed in two minutes. But in as much as it expressed the great spirit of national foundation of America and proclaimed to the world the American justice and humanity was, it is a piece of literature which no one who wants to under America the Americans properly should not miss by any means.

“Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot con-

secrete—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, for the people, and by the People shall not perish from the earth.”

Every word or phrase of the address is golden. The American spirit of democracy is altogether included in those few words. The Civil War which was commenced in 1861 and ended in 1865 was in a sense a conflict of agriculturism of the south and the commercialism of the north. At the same time, it may be regarded as a war which was fought between the two inconsistent elements which were present from the beginning of the American foundation; that is a conflict between the fervent ideal of justice and humanity which was handed down from the self-governing group of the protestants and the daring pinoneer spirit which was handed down from the immigrants sent by the specially privileged trading companies. Thus the American spirit and the American ideal once appeared as the declaration of Monroe Doctrine and again showed their beauty to the world by the Civil War. We trust the American conscience. We understand the American principle of justice and humanity.

(6.) *Mexican Question and America.*

The Civil War was an excellent opportunity which England should not have missed, England which has lifted the blockade of the

sea by the treaty of Ghent. For England which at that time had entertained an ambition to monopolize the manufacturing industry of the world, south America was the unique place in the world for supplying raw materials. When the southern states declared independence, England at once recognized them. The southern states at heart did not entertain any misgiving about the assistance of England. England also was very much moved to act. But for England to assist the southern states and to fight against the United States of North America, the principle of humanity which Lincoln advocated was too strong. Lincoln also knew that weakness of England. So, overcoming all difficulties, he resolutely carried out the emancipation of slaves in the slave states, thereby declaring to the world that the task of the northern states was altogether based on the pure principle of humanity, so that no opportunity might be left for England to take advantage of the situation.

America thus cut the southern confederate government from the assistance of England. But the southern diplomatists were quartered in Paris and cooperated with Milan, a priest who fled from Mexico, to move Napoleon the Third, England and Spain, to raise a war of conquest of Mexico; so that a great Empire might be established on the coast of the Mexico Bay, to counteract the influence of the United States of North America. That plot passed through various stages of changes and in July, 1863, a political change took place. Maximilian, the younger brother of the Emperor of Austria, by the recommendation of Napoleon, drove President Juarez and became the king of Mexico. He called the patriots of the Mexican Republic robbers or traitors. He conducted massacres. That attempt of Napoleon may be looked at as an extension of the enterprise of the Holy Alliance which attempted to interfere with South America in 1823. In a word, it was an attempt on the part of the remanent European feudal influences to extend the feudal political system into the new world. How can the Monroe Doctrine remain silent about it. The United States waiting after the close of the Civil War, gave a warning to France in accor-

dance with the Monroe Doctrine and demand withdrawal of troops from Mexico. Napoleon the Third insisted that he will not withdraw the troops until the new Empire shall have been established. There was a crisis in the relations between America and France. But at that very moment, the diplomatic issues between France and Prussia were strained, and the situation was very grave. In spite of the fact that the Imperialists were engaged in a movement for a revival, Napoleon the Third ordered withdrawal of troops from Mexico in 1867. The United States was enabled to attain her object without much any trouble. After the evacuation of the French troops, Juarez at once marched his army and captured Querétaro. On March 1, he made the king a prisoner and had him beheaded. On July 15 he recaptured the city of Mexico, and restored the Republic of Mexico. In the Mexican affair of 1867 we can note the Monroe Doctrine had done its work properly. Previous to that, in 1845, when America annexed Texas as one of the American states, there was a boundary dispute between America and Mexico. America suddenly appealed to arms and in September, 1847, captured the city of Mexico. The Rio Grande was made the boundary line between the two countries. By the treaty of February 2, 1848, New Mexico and Upper California were purchased for \$15,000,000. Next, preparations were made to purchase the land of Gadsden. That fact won the grudge of the Mexicans for many years, who regarded that a big country oppressed a small country by means of force to extend the territory. At that time, the two American continents were in a period of agitation for independence. The boundary disputes were found everywhere. In Louisiana or Texas, the boundary line was not clear for many years in the past. They needed to be settled some day. I do not find in the boundary disputes between America and Mexico for which America especially deserves to be denounced for outrageousness. In 1865, after the Civil War was over, America strongly protested against France regarding the attempt to extend the feudalistic influences of Europe into the new world. We can see the principle of justice and humanity

centered around in the Monroe Doctrine working in that America gave her assistance to Mexico.

(7) *End of the Monroe Doctrine.*

What we should especially consider now refers to how long the Monroe Doctrine could maintain its original spirit. The Americans even today takes the Monroe Doctrine as a shield whenever they have anything to say and brandishes the principle of justice and humanity. As I have explained before, we are not behind any one else in understanding the Monroe Doctrine and in respecting it. But are the Americans truly observing the principle now as we understand and respect? Is their so-called Monroe Doctrine the same as to the contents as the one declared by President Monroe to the European nations in 1823? The Monroe Doctrine in itself had undergone no change in the Monroe Doctrine in America today, since when was it that America has abandoned it? If there be changes made in the contents of the Monroe Doctrine as it advocated by the Americans Americans today, since when was it that the changes have taken place? That is what we earnestly wish to know. As I have said before, the Civil War, interpreted from the economic point of view, was a phenomenon which developed when the commercial and industrial capitalism has been perfectly developed. America by the result of the Civil War has been unified as a pure commercial and industrial nation. As is expressed in the paradox, "the ground is hardened after rain", the Civil War of America may be regarded as an event in the course of preparation of America to perfect her national unity as a commercial and industrial nation and to make a positive leap in the world. The period of fulfillment passed, the resources of the country became plentiful, capital overflowed to foreign countries, and the preparations for taking forward activities have already been made. How long, then, could the Monroe Doctrine, which was negative principle to prevent the feudalistic influences of

Europe from plotting to extend the political systems of Europe into the new world, embodying the ideal that the two American continents shall be forever a land of freedom and equality, remain as a guiding and controlling principle for the Americans?

As was to be expected, the American diplomacy has undergone a complete change with the Mexican incident which took place as a way of settlement of outstanding issues after the Civil War as an incident which marked the change. That change was clearly shown at the time of the Spanish-American War of 1898. In my opinion, the second period of American justice and humanity was marked by the Monroe Doctrine and the Monroe Doctrine has come to its close when the Mexican incident took place in 1867.

Second Period of American Justice and Humanity.

(The Monroe Doctrine was declared, prohibiting European nations from extending their political systems into any part of the two American continents, and at the same time America thereby refraining from interfering with the political affairs of Europe.—1820 to 1870).

- (1). Preventing Russia from occupying the north-western coast of America. (1820).
- (2). Preventing the Holy Alliance from interfering with South America. (1823).
- (3). Boundary disputes. (1816 to 1848).
- (4). Inducement and guiding of Japan. (1846 to 1854).
- (5). The Civil War and emancipation of slaves. (1861 to 1865).
- (6). Overturning of the Imperial government system in Mexico. (1867).

(8) *Movement for Pan-Americanism.*

In 1872, America during the administration of President Cleveland, had a dispute with England over the San Juan island in the

Pacific Ocean. By the mediation of the German Kaiser, the ownership of the island was determined. The next year, that is in 1877, America during the administration of President Hayes, again came into a dispute with England over the fishery rights in New Fundland which commanded the entrance to the St. Laurence Bay. She was defeated in the negotiations held at Halifax and was obliged to pay an indemnity of \$5,500,000. New Fundland is situated at the entrance to the St. Laurence Bay and is in a position almost to control the neck of British Canada. When America raised the trouble with England over the fishery rights there, can we not note an extraordinary change of the attitude of America? America was not taken aback. During the administration of President Cleveland, 1885 to 1889, she again entered into a dispute with England over the seal fishery rights in the Behring Strait. When the gold mines were discovered in Crondyke, in August, 1896, President McKinley also entered a dispute with England over the boundary line of Yukon. Thus it will be seen that the American diplomacy remarkably changed first in regard to her dealings with England. Alasaka, it may be mentioned in this connection, was purchased by America from the Russian government at the price of \$9,600,000.

The extraordinary change in the American policy of diplomacy thus noted was due no doubt mainly to the fact that the American commercialism and industrialism have developed into perfection and the desire to invest capital in foreign countries has become very strong. But at the same time there was another potent cause for the change. It was the extraordinary development of the German Empire in the heart of Europe. Since the Franco-Prussian War the German Empire advanced in power with an extraordinary rapidity. In the Orient, in the Strait Settlement, in the North Sea, Germany appeared as a formidable rival for England. England and France, which from the 18th. to the 19th. Centuries, had been in decidedly hostile relations, suddenly and unexpectedly forgot all the past enmities and shook hands as they faced the common foe. When England was expanding her

navy, what she had to keep in mind was America. As a matter of fact, England was not on friendly terms with America since the War of Independence. Even at the time of the Civil War, if she had an opportunity England might have assisted the south and held the north down. But when she thought of the extraordinary development of Germany, England could not afford to provoke the ill will of America any longer. From the American point of view, there has been no better customer for her products than England and France. If only England was willing to make a little more concession in regard to the sea power in the Atlantic Ocean, America did not need to regard England as her enemy by any means. England was too insistent upon having and holding the sea power in the Atlantic Ocean for herself. If England did not change her front, America might have allied with Germany and undertaken to destroy the British sea power. That was the position of America. Because of that basic consideration, America since 1872 could afford to provoke England in an attitude of sounding her way in a firm manner. England as was to be expected realized the unwisdom of holding America as her enemy. Two years after Germany in 1895 observed the ceremony of the opening of the Kiel Canal, that is in 1897, England together with France proposed to America to enter into an understanding concerning the future of Germany. The understanding that in case England should go to war with Germany, America shall stand on the side of England, was entered into already at that time. (This point is explained more in detail in my work, "Japan's Reconstruction, Its Significance and Details.")

(9). *Onward to the Pacific Ocean.*

With the establishment of the understanding, the British attitude toward America completely changed. England on February 17 1897, yielded much in the dispute over the boundary line between Venezuela and Guinea. The dispute had been pending for half century. In 1895, President Cleveland after his re-election protested to England

on the ground that the forcible territorial expansion by England was contrary to the Monre Doctrine. England contended that the Monrce Doctrine was not an international law and was not an instruement which permitted America to interfere with the boundary question of other countries. Both the nations had not yielded. America went even so far as to make a last decision of her own in regard to the matter. England, however, in 1897, suddenly withdrew her protest and with America as the mediator an agreement was signed in Washington.

Four months after the settlement of the Venezuela boundary question, in June, 1897, President McKinley concluded a treaty with Hawaii for the annexation of the islands, which the Hawaiian senate ratified. Hawaii had been under a monarchy. Early in the 19th. Century, Kamehameha the First unified the 12 islands of the Sandwich group and became the king. In 1840 Kamehameha the Third established a Constitution and the kingdom was recognized by England and France and was treated as an indepeudent nation. But in 1893, the Americans who had immigrated in the islands raised a revolt and had Queen Liliokalani dethroned. The American minister, Mr. Stevens, called Hawaii an American protectorate. But the time was not yet ripe for America to accept the prectorate over the Hawaii. In 1895, there was a revolt of the Imperialists. But they were pacified by the Americans. Then in June, 1897, an understanding was reached with England and France, and President McKinley effected the annexation of Hawaii without any compunction. Thus, Hawaii became the base of operation for the Pacific Eleet.

On April 20, 1898, America on the pretext of the sinking of the Maine, a war ship, in the harbor of Habana, in Cuba, suddenly declared a war upon Spain, and in only three months brought Spain to submission. As result of the treaty of peace of Washington, signed on July 20, all of the Spanish possessions in West Indies, including Porto Rico, were ceded to America. At the same time, America paid a purchase price of \$ 5,000,000 for the Philippine islands. Aguinaldo and other partriots who fought for independence were killed. America

spent altogether \$ 170,000,000 and employed all sorts of cruel methods to acquire the sovereignty. America suddenly sent the Maine to Cuba, because a movement for independence was started there and Spain could not control the critical situation. Spain at first regarded that the independence movement in Cuba was instigated by America and watched America with suspicion. When the Maine appeared in the harbor of Habana, the anti-American sentiment was roused all the more. Then for reasons not clear, the American war ship suddenly exploded and sank. America regarded that the sinking of the maine was due to a plot of Spain, and on April 19 recognized the independence of Cuba, and on April 20 declared a war upon Spain. The independence movement in the Philippines was commenced long before America purchased the islands. Aguinaldo rose in 1897. He protested against the tyranny of the Spanish government. But he was not such a traitor as he would wig his tail for the sweet words from America. After the American purchase of the islands, he continued his independence movement against the American government. He fought well against the American forces. But in 1902, he surrendered because his strength was exhausted. The outrages which were committed by the American army in the Philippines, were such as would make the humanity of the world feel ashamed.

America has now already annexed the Hawaii, acquired the Philippines and built two bases of operation to cover the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. The next thing necessary was to acquire the groups of islands which lied spotted on the north Pacific Ocean and form links between the two American possessions to keep the north Pacific entirely under the American control. In 1898, by the treaty of peace with Spain, America acquired the island of Guam and in 1900 by the treaties with England and Germany annexed the island of Samoa, thus attaining her aim completely.

(10.) *Panama Canal and Japanese Exclusion.*

While America was thus exerting her energy whole-heartedly in

her plans in the Pacific Ocean, at the same time she was not neglecting positive movement for holding the two American continents under the influence of the United States. In October, 1901, a conference of various republics of North, Central and South Americas was held in Mexico, and a unity was secured among the nations of the new world under the pretext of maintaining communications. It was a tacit declaration to the world of the unity of the nations of the new world. That was an event which should be carefully noted. The Pan-American Congress of Mexico may be regarded, not only as the perfection of the Monroe Doctrine, but rather as the ripening of the doctrine.

When the Boxer incident took place in China, America, which had been waiting for an opportunity, at once declared the principle of open door in China. America made preparations to extend the Monroe Doctrine from the western hemisphere to the Orient, and as one of the steps of the preparations she hastened the construction of the Panama Canal. England at first had not liked the idea of constructing the Panama Canal. As far back as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, England showed her dislike of the plan of constructing the Panama Canal. But when the understanding was reached in 1897, the American Atlantic Fleet was speedily constructed and the work on the Panama Canal suddenly progressed. The idea of constructing a canal in the strait which connects the two American continents was conceived when Louis Napoleon held sway in Central Europe. But whether the canal should take its course in Nicaragua or in Panama had been a long-pending issue. In regard to the work itself, America and France were manoeuvring at cross purposes. Besides, England did not like the idea of the Panama Canal in view of the Suez Canal which is under the British control, so that she could not readily take interest in the Panama Canal. But in 1897, an understanding was reached among the three nations of England, America and France and the obstacles in the way of construction were at once removed. The Columbia government made some objections. But America with her

money power instigated Panama even going so far as to recognize the independence of that country. In 1905, the year when the Russo-Japanese War was ended, the work of construction of the canal was commenced to be completed in 12 years at the expenditure of \$235,000,000. That the canal was completed and was formally opened on August 15, 1914, is what the readers remember fresh in their mind.

In the spring of 1905, the year when the Russo-Japanese War was ended, a plan was brought forward by the educational authorities of San Francisco to segregate the Japanese school children from the public schools. The issue spread itself all along the Pacific coast of America. It then changed into an immigration issue, again into the law for prohibiting the land ownership of the Japanese, and the issue of segregating the Japanese in a separate quarter. The Japanese American relations were strained. President Roosevelt in 1907-8 sent the gigantic Atlantic Fleet to the Pacific Ocean to visit different ports of the Orient and the South Sea countries. Sir Joseph Edward, the premier of Australia, in welcoming the American fleet, exclaimed.

“In case some day the yellow and white races should dispute sway over Australia and the islands in the Pacific Ocean, America should by all means fight on the side of Australia against the yellow races.”

In November 9, 1908, our ambassador in Washington, Mr. Kogoro Takahira, exchanged a diplomatic note of memorandum with Mr. Elihu Root, the American secretary of state, on the occasion when the American federal government remonstrated with the western states and had various Japanese exclusion bills stopped which were calculated to violate the treaty rights of Japanese, by which note exchanged Japan agreed to support the American view as to the open door and territorial integrity of China which had been long advocated by America, to restrict emigration on our own part, and to prevent Japanese laborers from migrating in California in large numbers. Later, the emigration of Japanese laborers to America was altogether prohibited.

Thus the strain in the relations was relieved for the time being, and the critical situation was passed. But a section of obstinate Americans have not as yet changed their mind as to the Japanese exclusion. They planned variously to exclude the Japanese from America. At the same time, they misinterpreted facts about Japan's doings in China and Manchuria and spread false reports that Japan was violating the principle of open door and equal opportunity. Fortunately or unfortunately, in 1914, the German War broke out as had been anticipated by England and France. The world was thrown into a veritable hell. Japan jointed together America on the side of the Allies. Thus the Japanese American dispute over the Chinese and the Pacific Ocean issues was postponed for five years. (Treated in detailed in my work on "Japan's Reconstruction, Its Significance and Details.")

Summarizing what I have said in this section, I may tabulate the interpretation of the American justice and humanity of the third period as follows.

Third Period of American Justice and Humanity.

(The western hemisphere was altogether to be Americanized and united under the control of the American government. Preparations were hastened for extending the scope of the Monroe Doctrine to the Pacific Ocean and to the Far East. —1870 to 1914).

- (1) Movement for Americanizing the whole of the western hemisphere. (1870 to 1897).
 - a. The dispute over the San Juan island. (1872).
 - b. Dispute over the Newfoundland fishery rights. (1877).
 - c. Dispute over the right of seal fishery in the Behring Sea. (1885 to 1889).
 - d. Dispute over the Alaskan line. (1896).
 - e. The issue of the boundary line of British Guinea. (1897).
 - f. Pan-American Congress. (1901).

- (2) Monroe Doctrine and the preparations for extending its scope to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. (1897 to 1914).
- a. An understanding reached with England and France. (1897).
 - b. The treaty of annexation of Hawaii passed by the American senate. (1898).
 - c. Spanish American War and the American occupation of the West Indies islands. (1898).
 - d. Purchase of the Philippines. (1898).
 - e. Annexation of Guam. (1900).
 - f. Annexation of Guam. (1900).
 - g. Declaration of the principle of open door and equal opportunity in China. (1901).
 - h. Construction of the Panama Canal. (1905 to 1914).
 - i. The voice of Japanese exclusion raised. (1905).
 - j. The American Atlantic Fleet sent to cruise in the Pacific Ocean. (1907 to 1908).
 - k. The Root-Takahira Agreement. (1908).
 - l. The world War commenced and the strained Japanese American relations temporarily relieved. (1914).
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CHAPTER 3.—JAPAN AND AMERICA, WITH CHINA AS THE CENTER OF CONSIDERATION.

(1). *Control of the World By Money Power.*

In the foregoing chapter, I have treated of the American diplomacy dividing it into three periods. The first was the period when the colonists in New England made efforts by cooperation among themselves to drive away the feudalistic influences of the old world from the new world to escape from their thralldom. From 1689 to

1763 was the period of war against the feudalism of France. From 1775 to 1814 was the period marked by the feudalism of England. The second period of war against the two wars of independence, and it was the period of fulfilment for the United States of North America. The United States declared the Monroe Doctrine and made efforts to replenish the national strength at home, in order to prepare for the forward economic development which was to come. During that period, America leaped from the agricultural country at once into a great business nation in the world. The conflict between the old agriculturism and the new commercialism and industrialism have resulted as the Civil War of 1861. Thus, America, with the Civil War as the turning point, entered the period of forward policy, that is the third period. America of the new world now prepared herself to extend her power of capital in a reverse order to the old world. In the first place, she found it necessary to place the coast of the two continents of America definitely under her sway. From about 1870, she raised disputes with England regarding the boundary line along the coast or regarding various rights. Consequently, at times crises have been reported to have developed between England and America. But when the German Empire rose in the heart of Europe, and extend in the Orient, the Strait Settlement, Africa, and North Sea, the British sea power had come to be menaced by Germany. England first allied with France. Then she felt the need of arriving at an understanding with America. Whereupon, the American plans in the Pacific Ocean could be developed with a rapid stride without any aforethought about the possible objections from England or France. The so-called Monroe Doctrine of America underwent a complete change with her interference with the Imperial attempt in Mexico of 1867. After 1897, America entered altogether the period of forward policy in the Pacific Ocean, in which period she was ready to dispute with Japan over the privileges in the Orient. Then the World War suddenly broke out all. The strained Japanese American relations apparently had a period of temporary lull, as I have so far reviewed

in the preceding chapter.

The fourth period of American diplomacy began from the European War of 1914 continuing still today, a period in which the world capitalism will be given expression in the Pacific conference. The American Monroe Doctrine ended with the interference of America with the Mexican Imperialist affairs, in 1867. After that, the phrase, Monroe Doctrine, has been referred to only as a histological phrase. But the Americans still today freely employ the phrase. If the phrase is to be given life by the Americans, it will mean that the Americans are trying to extend its scope to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East, and after the conclusion of the World War to the whole world by her world capitalistic self-awakening. In a more candid language, the so-called justice and humanity of the Americans today mean that America is trying to control the whole world by means of American democracy, or American commercial and industrial capitalism; it means that America is trying to compel by means of her money power the 1,600,000,000 of mankind of the world to kneel at her feet.

(2). *America May Conflict with England Rather
Than with Japan.*

By the so-called Gentleman's Agreement of November, 1908, Japan, paying due consideration to the internal conditions in America and recognizing America's special position in the western hemisphere, yielded much in regard to the immigration question. If, as Japan out of due consideration of America's internal conditions recognized America's special position in the western hemisphere, America had recognized Japan's special position in the Far East by paying due consideration to Japan's domestic conditions, the Japanese American relations which have had a glorious history might have been spared from the present state into which they were reduced by the professional agitators of China, without waiting for the Ishii-Lansing Agreement. What capitalistic development had been brought about on the Chinese

continent, Japan's goal for her life and death struggle, by the American enterprises which with the Hawaii and the Philippines as the supports have attempted to overlap the whole of North Pacific under the American sphere of commercial and industrial influence, until the outbreak of the World War? If the American commercial policy in China were carefully studied, one will be able to find out that in the midst of the chaotic political conditions of China there was a consistent course taken by the Americans without drifting away from that course. We must first examine the American commercial development in the Chinese continent.

China had long been under the sway of the British commercial power. Even today the credit and power of the British merchants in the Chinese continent cannot be shaken by any means. If there be any other powerful factor which would menace the British commercial prestige, that factor will not be Japan but America. Japan after the Russian War has been conducting her enterprises in South Manchuria, her life and death line. Commercially, Japan, as she had declared to the world before, has unalterably adhered to the principle of open door and equal opportunity, without in the least hindering the economic activities of other powers. Had Japan's attitude in China been such as a section of Americans have misconstrued, how could England, which has held a commercial sway in China, cooperate with Japan in maintaining the peace of the Orient? Before America should blame Japan, England should long ago have been Japan's enemy. That England could afford to cooperate with Japan in the task of maintaining the peace of the Orient is the conclusive proof that Japan's enterprises in China were engaged in to the limit of necessity of Japan's national existence and have not touched the British commercial prestige in any way. But America rushed toward the Chinese continent and has been trying to establish her commercial foundation by one leap, with her money power which she has acquired while the great war was going on and now before England and other European powers could recover their strength after the war exhaustion. We pay high respects to

the individual efficiency of the American business men. Especially, their scientific method of investigation of the conditions of China is a thorough one leaving nothing to be desired. Their method of civilizing enterprise in China to win the good will of the Chinese people has been a fundamental one, carefully conducted. We the Japanese have paid profound respects to the Americans in that regard. We should learn lessons from the wisdom, knowledge and efficiency of the Americans. Japan's policy in China has been lacking in thoroughness. Consequently, we have won the ill-will of the Chinese people more and more. For two or three years past, I, on the floor of the House of Representatives of the Imperial Japanese Diet, have called upon the government authorities to reflect. But the ill-will of the Chinese people toward the Japanese is an inevitable result of historical and geographical causes. To pour oil to the fire of ill-will of the Chinese, in order to agitate against Japan in China, would be an easy matter to those who want to drive Japan away from that country. But Japan by no means is the master of the commercial world in China as yet. To exclude Japan from the Chinese continent, would have significance as a prelude to deprive England of her commercial prestige in that continent. How long would England remain silent when America is trying to stretch out her capitalist wings, not only in China proper, but also in Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia? In the commercial competition in the Chinese continent, who will be the direct enemy of America's capitalism, Japan or England? We shall watch America's activities in the Chinese continent with wide-opened eyes.

(3). *Perfection of Marine Transportation and Financial Facilities.*

It was a very recent affair that America began to extend her gigantic hand of capitalism to the Chinese continent. As I have said before, the American designs in the Pacific Ocean were put in operation after the understanding was reached with England and France. Until the American preparatory enterprises in the Pacific Ocean, in

the Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam and Samoa were completed, the American commercial activities in China had been limited almost to transactions in samples. But after the ending of the World War, America accidentally gathered the wealth of the world to herself and at one gallop became the great creditor nation against the European nations. That though America was geographically in a special position before the war, in her South America trade she could not overtake the British or German prestige, was due to the fact that she lacked facilities of independent transportation and finance. But the Great War gave an excellent opportunity to America as a commercial nation to fill the gap. Lo and behold! America has now become the greatest nation in respect of marine transportation, second only to England. She is now trying, at the same time, to perfect her independent financial facilities to go parallel with the development of marine transportation. The former president, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, on December 25, last year, signed the Edge law calling upon an establishment of a gigantic corporation for the object of financial enterprises in foreign countries and of international financing. When such a gigantic corporation shall have been established, loans will be made to any party who wants to buy goods from America on the security of his factory or other securities, so that money will flow like water out of the stupendous amount of capital accumulated to the overflowing degree in America, to inundate the Far East. In that event, it is plainer than daylight that all China will be placed in the condition of economic protégé of America. America's commercial policy in China has undergone a complete change; commercial houses have been established; American representatives have been sent; scholars have been sent to investigate the conditions of China fundamentally; and enterprises for public service for winning the permanent good will of the Chinese people have been engaged in. All these things make one recall the Germany before the war.

Since America attempted to invest in a Chinchow-Aigun railway to be built to connect the Peking-Mukden Railway with the Chinese Eastern

Railway. But the attempt was opposed by Japan. She yielded to Japan's protest and with that as a condition pro quo had the immigration question solved, which I remember was in 1908. At that time, America did not grudge to recognize Japan's special position in South Manchuria. The American railway project in question was planned by Willard Straight, then the American consul general stationed in Mukden. He had been closely watching Japan's development in South Manchuria while serving as the consul general. He resigned his official position with an understanding with his home country, and as an individual business man he cooperated with Mr. Fletcher, then the American charge d'Affaires in Peking, and devised various plans for the American interests. The Chincow-Aigun railway project was intended to connect North Manchuria with the province of Chihli, and upon its completion it was considered that the effect which the South Manchuria Railway will receive will be serious. Today, Japan does not confine her interests in South Manchuria to the South Manchuria Railway, and she may not altogether oppose the idea of constructing the Chinchow-Aigun railway. At that time, however, it was a serious issue and the public opinion in Japan was heated to a boiling point. Straight some years later died in Paris while visiting there. Mr. Fletcher lives and is now serving in the Harding Administration, offering his knowledge as to in the Far East. Recalling the events of 13 years ago, he may now be entertaining peculiar feelings.

Dr. Paul Reinsch, who was a representative of the capitalist interests of America, was suddenly appointed the American minister to China and was sent to Peking, the year before the commencement of the great World War, that is in 1913. During the war, he assiduously worked to cement the friendship between China and America. He planned to establish business connections between the two countries, and succeeded in gaining much in that respect. He secured for America the right of digging oil in Shensi, helped the Lee-Higginson loans to be made, the Siems-Carey loans, the concession to

construct railways extending 1,100 miles traversing the heart of China, the loan contract for the dredging of the Grand Canal, etc. All these undertakings should be recorded among the achievements to his credit. While thus the American activities in China were extraordinarily spectacular, the Americans stood far in the rear of England and Japan in making the start in China. In 1918, America proposed establishment of a new international loan consortium for China, and she approached Japan to secure her support. The aim of the new consortium was to secure friendly relations among nations interested in China, so that they may readjust their plans in order to prevent the corrupt officials of China from taking advantage of the competitions among the foreign nations for concessions to reap fisherman's profits and to give opportunity to them to alienate the foreign nations so interested from each other. The consortium aimed that rather than to let the Chinese officials do that, Japan, England, America and France, the four nations, should jointly advance the common interests, in order to make China a safe and profitable market for investment. Regarding the motive for proposing that plan, various imaginations had been indulged in among the nations of the world. But Japan, realizing that the purpose of the proposition was a good one, straightway supported it, and the new consortium was established on May 11, 1920. When America first proposed the plan, she sent Mr. Abbot, a Chicago banker, to the Orient in order to urge on the prominent Japanese and Chinese the advisability of the cooperation among nations proposed. Then America sent Mr. Thomas Lamont, of the J. P. Morgan Company to the Orient. The understanding among the four nations was reached on May 6, 1920, and on the 11th of that month the agreement was signed by the representatives of the four nations, America having been represented by Mr. Lamont and Japan by Mr. Chuji Kajiwara. That was a proper thing to do. Between Mr. Kajiwara and Mr. Lamont, an official note of memorandum was exchanged regarding the exceptions provided for Mauchuria and Mongolia.

We approve of the purpose of the new international loan consortium for China. But the nation which will be placed in a most advantageous position to engage in profitable activities will be America because America stands on a ground of a most friendly historical relationship. England since the Opium War, Japan since the war of 1894, have won the deep-seated enmity of the Chinese. America has had no such historical record of the past. Moreover, America took an attitude of pleasing China in regard to the Shantung Question, in the Paris Peace Conference, even going to the length of ridiculing the world and trampling the powers under her feet. As Mr. Charles Hodges of New York, in his report early in 1920, exclaimed, "America's prestige in China is today unique among the powers of the world. Now is the most opportune moment for American enterprisers to engage in activities in China." China, official and private, places her confidence in America, and will not hesitate to offer every concession and opportunity for enterprise to America.

4. Secret of China's Participation in the War.

America is making every sacrifice for the trade with China. In February, this year, the House of Representatives of the American Congress passed the bill to the effect that "the companies under the American management in China trade shall be given the license as American firms, and such American firms shall be excepted from the application of the American income tax law." At the same time, the American business men residing and engaged in business in China held a conference of different commercial bodies between April 27 and May 3 in Shanghai, to consult about some definite plans of development of trade with China. Mr. Wietham, an American in China, declared that the 6,500 miles of the trunk railway lines in China at present will shortly be lengthened to 21,000 miles, and that the \$1,500,000,000 (silver) of the trade of China at present will shortly be increased to \$4,000,000,000 or \$5,000,000,000. I shall

list the enterprises newly commenced or being planned by the American in China from January 1, this year.

The Pacific Bank of China, planned by Mr. Chow Tse-chi, minister of finance of China, was backed by Dr. Reinsch, former minister to China. The bank was capitalized at \$5,000,000 (gold). The main offices are established in Shanghai.

The Chilih Banking Corporation of the Republic of China was established as a joint undertaking between the Chilih provincial authorities and American business men. It capitalized at \$35,000,000 yuan. The corporation is regarded as likely to become a great financial power to control the market in Tientsin in future.

The Chinese American Navigation Company of the Pacific was established as a joint concern promoted by Mr. Tien Yi-chun, now in New York, and Americans. It was capitalized at \$25,000,000. The chief routes of navigation are to be between Shanghai and Hong-kong and Vancouver.

The Lung Yuen Iron Works was located in Tungshan, west of Peking. Outwardly, it is a Chinese concern in name. But the actual power is in the American hands. It was organized as a joint concern between Mr. Kiang Tien-tu and Americans.

The National Bank of China was capitalized at 10,000,000 Yuan. The Americans interested have already paid up 5,000,000 yuan of their share.

The mining rights in Yunnan were already granted to the Ming Hsiang Company conducted by Americans.

Because almost all of the non-absorbent cotton has been imported from Japan in China, some Chinese business men are now planning to establish a factory for its manufacture at Yue Shen Shan in Peking.

How such development and credit of the Americans possible in China? Compared with the development of capitalism of America in China, we note the deplorable conditions of worsening of the sino-Japanese relations. While we idly watched such extraordinary econo-

mic development of America in China, what were the Japanese American relations? Let us review briefly the Japanese American relations of the past, with China as the chief consideration.

About two and a half months after the fall of Tsingtau, that is on January 15, 1915, Mr. Eki Hioki, Japanese minister to China, handed a note of demands of five groups, including 21 demands, to President Yuan Shi-kai. The chief items of the demands referred to the disposition of the rights which had been owned by Germany in Shantung, recognition of Japan's special position and interests in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and solution of various issues which had been pending between Japan and China for many years. The aim of the demands was to readjust problems which rose after the German Japanese War, to promote the friendship between Japan and China and to secure a permanent peace of the Orient. Special care was taken to see that the demands did not contravene the principle of territorial integrity, open door, and equality of opportunity in China, which Japan had already long before declared to the powers. Yet China stubbornly objected to the demands. The negotiations had not yet been closed after 25 conference sessions had been held. On April 26, Japan presented an amended note of demands. China still would not accept the Japanese concession. On May 1, China requested a reconsideration of the note. On May 5, Japan at last sent an ultimatum and showed a firm determination, so that Japan's claims were finally agreed to by China. Needless to say, the negotiations on the 21 demands were entered into by Japan with a previous understanding arrived at with the Allied nations. Yet the proceedings of the negotiations were fraught with prospects of dangerous developments. Japan won the jealousy of the powers and received protesting inquiries from England and America. That situation was no doubt brought about by the anti-Japanese propaganda work carried on by a section of the Chinese politicians and undesirable foreigners in China. Naturally, the German scheme of alienating China from Japan had some effect. The Chinese politicians cooperating with the foreign

press correspondents and other undesirable elements have disregarded the diplomatic etiquette and worked to see that the secrets of the negotiations leak out. They exaggerated the contents of the demands and spread various falsehoods and fabrications, in the hope of exciting the antipathy of the powers toward Japan. If Japan had been a little more adept in the continental method of diplomacy, and had employed the propaganda work a little more skilfully, she might have been able, judging from the various events which have taken place in China and Australia, the stubborn attitude which China had taken in the 21 demand negotiations, and casting thought far into the future, to prevent beforehand the Chinese manipulations in the Paris Peace Conference. But Japan has been too honest and she is a novice in the art of continental diplomacy.

China's participation in the war had close relations with America's participation. In November, 1915, England, France, Russia and Italy, four Allies, jointly advised China to join in the war. At that time, China had not considered the proposition seriously. It was Sir John Jordan, the British minister to China, who was chiefly entrusted with the task of negotiating with the Chinese government on the proposition. Then when America, roused into indignation by the unrestricted submarine warfare on the part of Germany, broke the diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, 1917, and urged on all the neutral nations of the world to follow suit, the Tuan Chi-jui ministry of the time suddenly decided to take the American advise, and on February 9 sent a protest to Germany and then in spite of the opposition voiced by the southern elements proclaimed breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany on March 14. Then until China declared war on Germany on August 14, the same year, there have been anatonisms between the northern and southern elements. Various unpleasant incidents had taken place, surrounding the issue of China's war participation. But judged from the general outlook, no one even today doubts that China was then induced to take the course which she did by a certain influence in Ame-

rica, It may not be possible to find the cause of the friction which was so intensified between North and South in only one thing. That the evil hands of Germany have deeply affected China, as the German agents have equally manipulated both the northerners, and southerners, thereby creating a civil strife and making it impossible for China to participate in the war, may have been one of the causes. Aside from that consideration, there is no shashow of a doubt that behind the Tuan ministry, which, in spite of the various difficulties and obstacles, has yet taken a single course toward the declaration of war on Germany unflinchingly, there was a certain American influence backing the Tuan ministry in the course followed. What understanding was then arrived at? China as a compensation for her participation in the war obtained a pledge from the Allied nations that the Boxer indemnities will no longer be collected and that the rate of customs duties will be revised so as to give China an actual receipt of five per cent, and other conditions were attached. We cannot accept the theory that China participated in the war on the advice of America unconditionally. (But Mr. Wilson, former president, on July 19, 1919, inviting a subcommittee of the senate foreign relations committee to a conference in the White House, while explaining in six items concerning the peace treaty, purposely added that there was no pledge made to China that America shall come to China's assistance to protect her interests in the peace conference.) In that manner, the attention of the world was centered in the developments on the western war front in Europe and the European nations have been fighting placing the fate of their nations at stake and with a single purpose. In the meantime, in the Chinese continent, a dark dreadful current of diplomacy came rushing across the Pacific Ocean, terrificly roaring and raising a torrent of whirlpool.

(5) *The Storm in the Peace Conference*

About three months after China declared war on Germany, Japan

and America declared jointly that they recognize the special interests each of the other country's. That was the principle of the so-called Ishii-Lansing Agreement. When we viewed with the same eyes which have looked at the undesirable foreigners in China who have been constantly cooperating with a section of the Chinese politicians whose business it was to engage in the work of vituperation against Japan before other powers; the gentlemanly intelligence and fairness which have been shown in the Ishii-Lansing Agreement, we cannot but be struck by a peculiar feeling as if we were in another world.

"I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Government relating to the Republic of China.

"In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

"The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special interests between countries and consequently the Government of the United States recognize that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

"The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other Powers.

"The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China and they declare furthermore that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called 'open door' or equal

opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

“Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China. Etc.

Robert Lansing.”

Confirmed by Viscount Kikujiro Ishii.

America had that intelligence and good will. If that intelligence and good will is not overshadowed by the manipulations of the professional politicians and the undesirable foreigners resident in China who are the tools of the politicians, we may repose our confidence in the American justice and humanity. But unfortunately, dark clouds overhang the two nations, hiding the light of the moon. The light of the American intelligence itself never fades. But the majority of Americans are not the light of the moon today. They are the degenerate multitude of humanity who are only looking up to find the moon from the Earth. Between the moon and the Earth, there are always dark clouds hovering over the head of humanity, shadowing the beauty of the moon. Japan confidently relying upon the intelligence of the Americans faced the Paris conference, and was met with a surprise attack by the Chinese delegates who had been cooperating with a certain influence in America. She was dragged before the court of the four powers and barely escaped a verdict of guilty. Luckily, Japan had in her possession the notes exchanged with England, France, Russia and Italy recognizing Japan's position regarding the sino-Japanese treaty of 1915. By the earnest efforts made by our delegates to explain the situation and their firm decision, the crisis was passed in safety. Certainly, at that very moment there was the Fiume question which was brought to a critical condition, and it may be as was generally remarked at the time that the fact that the Italian delegates withdrew from the conference had a beneficial effect on Japan gaining her point. In short, the

intelligence of England, France and Italy, the three great friendly nations, has recognized the special position of Japan in the Far East and that intelligence was reflected in the intelligence of Mr. Wilson, who represented the blood of the better class of Americans. If the Shantung question were to be denounced in accordance with the sense of so-called justice as advocated by a section of Americans, the so-called justice of America as recognized in the events of American history should altogether be denied. In brief, the Shantung question can be settled by whether or not the special position of Japan as was recognized in the Ishii-Lansing Agreement is recognized or not.

(6) *Refusal of the Senate to Ratify the Peace Treaty
and the Pacific Conference.*

That the Republicans led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge who represents the world capitalism of America should object to the ratification of the peace treaty, including the League of Nations Covenant, as advocated by Mr. Wilson, had been a foregone conclusion. Their Pacific Ocean designs were once the Chinese designs. They were indeed the designs for Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia. The denunciatory outcries against Japan by Mr. C. T. Wang and Dr. Wellington Koo were the skirmishes of the advance guards. On July 10, 1919, when the bill for ratification of the peace treaty was introduced in the American Senate, the wild and outrageous manner of the Republicans who occupied 49 seats in the Senate 47 Democrats, out of the total number of senators of 96, was something which astonished the eyes of the nations in the League of Nations. Of them, Mr. Lodge even went so far as to attack Japan by bringing in falsehoods referring to a secret German Japanese treaty, and wilfully misrepresenting the Shantung solution was engaged in insinuations and calumnies against Japan. He then instigated the anti-Japanese members of Congress to raise an outcry of a Japanese American war. In the meantime, a few intelligent Americans

who had inherited the spirit of national foundation of America have always maintained an attitude of fairness and square deal, and made endeavors to lead the sound public opinion in America by showing their intelligence and wisdom as was revealed unclouded in the Ishii-Lansing Agreement. That was what the Japanese have recognized and appreciated. Especially, Mr. Wilson has been an advocate of the League of Nations and has urged on other nations to join the League of Nations. In view of that, when he saw that the wild and unreasonable Lodge faction fooling the world and disregarding the international morality, he was seriously agrieved and in the spring of 1917 went back to his country even in the midst of the peace conference and went about different parts of the country to explain the situation. He could not sit still, and personally attacked the stronghold of the opposition, and on August 23 succeeded in overturning the unreasonable bill for amendment which was voted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, (referring to making the votes for America in the League of Nations six in number, same as England; to substituting in the Shantung clause the phrase "shall be given to Japan" to "shall be given to China"). On October 10, in the general session of the senate, the Lodge bill for amendment was defeated by the vote of 35 to 55 against the amendment. But the Lodge faction were not down. They immediately introduced a bill embodying 14 articles of reservations. After the articles were discussed one by one, the bill for ratification of the peace treaty was voted down unceremoniously in the general session on November 19. Senator Hichcok who was known as a Democratic right-hand man of Mr. Wilson moved for reconsideration of the bill for ratification of the peace treaty. But all his efforts were in vain. The bill in question was buried in the grave in the last session of Congress on November 20, by a vote of 35 to 53 against the bill.

The regular session following the extraordinary session was held on the first Monday in December, 1919. Former President Wilson

on January 8 rejected all the offers for compromise in regard to the ratification of the peace treaty. He declared that he would refer the matter to the general election at the time of the presidential election. He sent a note to Germany regarding continuation of the state of armistice. But the voice for urging on the reiteration of peace was raised loudly among the people. The Republicans as well as the Democrats were moved by it, so that the issue for re-establishing peace was again brought up in the senate on February 13, 1920. The question was discussed from February 17, and after the text of the treaty was discussed article by article, it at one time appeared that a compromise would be established. But on the ground that Article 10 of the peace treaty which would make America responsible for going to the assistance of Europe with force was against the spirit of Monroe Doctrine, the Republicans adhered to their reservation, refusing to shoulder such responsibility "except when a war shall be declared in accordance with the Constitution, or when Congress, having the power to employ the American navy and army, should provide for such employment in a certain specified instance, by law or by a joint decision of the two houses of Congress." From the stand point of Mr. Wilson, he absolutely could not compromise with such reservation. Consequently, the ratification bill was once more defeated. Mr. Wilson was now reduced to a position in which, as he had declared on January 8, he was compelled to refer the matter to the general vote on the occasion of the presidential election.

The Democratic Party held its party convention for the presidential election in San Francisco from June 28. After the ballots were cast 40 or more times, Mr. James N. Cox, governor of Ohio, was chosen the Democratic candidate. The party announced the following planks of their platform concerning the peace treaty, including the League of Nations Convention, in order to counteract the Republican Party, who tried to vote down the League of Nations Covenant.

1. It is necessary to ratify the peace treaty in order to uphold the honor and sincerity of the nation.

2. We are not opposed to any reservation which would make clearer our responsibility to the nations in the League of Nations.

In regard to the plan of referring the question of ratification of the League of Nations Covenant to the people in the political campaign, there was some amount of opposition even among the members of the Democratic Party. Mr. William Jennings Bryan was the foremost in opposing the idea. Because the milder elements in the Republican Party yielded to the forward elements in reference to the question of ratification of the League of Nations Covenant, in the Republican convention early in June, thereby deciding on an absolute opposition to the League of Nations Covenant, the Democratic Party were compelled to refer the question to the general vote of the people. As result of general election, on November 2, the Democrats were met with an unexpectedly serious defeat. Mr. Harding of the Republican Party was elected with an overwhelming majority, and from March, 1921, Mr. Harding became the "host of the White House", replacing Mr. Wilson. On July 2, President Harding signed the resolution for restoration of peace which passed by the two houses of Congress in the library in the estate of Senator Frelinghausen in New Jersey. Whereupon, the state of war between America Germany was formally ended, and the peace was restored. At the same time, in regard to the treaty of peace resolution, in its second chapter, there is a curious and selfish clause, which attempts to secure to America the benefits conferred by the Versailles treaty, while on the other hand denouncing that treaty. How America will dispose of that difficult problem, is a matter in which the whole world has been very much interested. Presently, came suddenly the invitation from America to a Pacific conference for limitation of armaments. It came to the foreign office of Japan, which had been given over altogether to the thought of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as a thunderbolt from the clear sky.

(7) *From Importing Raw Materials to Exporting
Manufactured Articles.*

China and Manchuria are on the life and death line for Japan. As America had once been an agricultural country, so Japan had been an agricultural country. While America was a supplying country of raw materials, the Monroe Doctrine could be a principle of justice for America. But America later advanced from an agricultural country, and began to compete with England and other manufacturing with her own manufactured articles, in South America and the eastern hemisphere as well, to secure the commercial rights. It was not unreasonable that England which had intended to monopolize the manufacturing industry of the world should have wished to preserve America as the supplying country of raw materials. At the time of the Civil War, England had tended to assist the South, which stood for agriculturism. To explain the American history in application to Japan, the ten years from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 were the period of Japan's preparations to become an industrial country. That period corresponds with the period of Monroe Doctrine of the American history. With the Russo-Japanese War as a period, Japan advanced from an agricultural country into an industrial country and thus entered the new course of advancement. Japan shifted gradually from being a raw materials supplying country into supplying country into a country supplying manufactured articles to the Asiatic continent. America, in spite of the fact that she had been constantly quarreling with England in the matter of the Monroe Doctrine enjoying in the meanwhile the good will of the European nations and was cared for the powers, because she had not as yet altogether passed beyond the period of an agricultural country. Because her manufacturing industry had not as yet developed to the degree of the advanced countries of Europe, and because in the matter of transportation she had to depend upon England, America had been

caressed by the powers as a land of liberty. Now that America has attained an extraordinary development as an industrial country, become the second greatest marine country in the world, threatening England and France with her forward advance in opening her market in South America, Africa, Europe and China, could America longer enjoy the admiration by the European powers, as a land of peace and the home of liberty? While Germany had been menacing England and France America's commercial and industrial capitalism may have been able to occupy the unique position in the world. But now Germany is down and out, Russia has fallen, and the world situation has completely changed. Will America's commercial and industrial capitalism be permitted to occupy the unique position which we have noted in the period after 1879? That is the question which I want answered by the intelligent and wise Americans. Japan's industrial history has commenced far behind the European civilization. In that she tried to catch up with a great stride to the advanced state of industry of those countries, her case in a sense resembles that of America. But whereas America entered the activities as an industrial country already along 1870, Japan has only entered the period along 1905. The reason why Japan is variously misunderstood and insinuated against by the European and American nations, is to be found in that the imports of manufactured articles from Europe and America have gradually decreased and the exports of manufactured articles to the Asiatic continent have gradually increased. Especially, the development after the Great European War has been phenomenal. According to the trade statistics of 1920, the all finished articles exported were 49.4 per cent of the total amount of Japan's exports, the half-manufactured articles for raw materials exported having been only 34.8 per cent. The pure raw materials and food stuff exported amounted only to 7 per cent. On the other hand, in the imports, the all finished articles were only 14 per cent of the total imports, and the half-manufactured articles for raw materials were 21.7 per cent; whereas the raw materials increased in importation to 9.5 per cent.

Compared with the conditions before the Russo-Japanese War, the ratio of percentages has been completely reversed, between raw materials and finished articles. What do these figures tell? Japan has now passed the period of a customer nation when she was spoiled by the tinsel clinkets of compliments by the European and American powers. She has now entered the period of competition with those powers and therefore disliked by them. Her customer is now the whole of the Asiatic continent, which America is bending all her efforts to cleave into. In a more precise sentence, it is China, Manchuria and Mongolia. So much is talked about today, either regarding the Pacific conference or limitation of armaments, or other weighty problems. But the crux of all these issues is the China problem. It is the efforts and struggle made by America, a late comer to try to step in the already established market of Japan and England in China, Manchuria and Mongolia. America with her practical experience in conformity with the Monroe Doctrine knows full well where the life and death line of a nation lies. As Mexico, South America, Canada, Alaska and Sandwich islands are important for America, so Korea, China, Manchuria, Mongolia and a portion of the South Sea islands are important for Japan. America is a humanist through her experience in the Atlantic Ocean. But this humanist America now comes out in the Pacific Ocean to invade the life and death line of other countries, and is trying to do unto others what she did like that others would do unto herself. Can that be called an attitude of a nation which has been professing justice and humanity?

CHAPTER 4.—AN APPEAL TO THE GENUINE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE.

(1). *California's Tyrannical Anti-Japanese Laws.*

Japan in accordance with the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908 has been prohibiting of her own accord the emigration of laborers to America. She has strictly observed the agreement. But now in

1913 the California legislature had a bill introduced in it for prohibiting landownership by foreigners. The efforts at mediation by Mr. Bryan, then the secretary of state, had no effect. The Japanese have been ruthlessly deprived of their rights of land ownership. They were enabled to continue in possession of their land only in the name of their children born in America. In regard to that issue, the public opinion in Japan had at the time been considerably roused. But a section of intelligent Japanese who knew the national conditions of America well explained the peculiar national system and the conditions of the people, thereby appeasing the indignant people in this country. We had reposed confidence in the intelligence and wisdom of a sound section of Americans and had expected that the difficult international problem would be satisfactorily settled.

In the next year, 1914, the Great World War broke out and the anti-Japanese fever among a section of Americans has naturally subsided for a while. But it rose again as the end of the war was approaching. The law of 1913 was denounced as ineffective, and various falsehoods and exaggerated reports have been circulated by those who agitated against the Japanese. On December 20, 1919, Japan sent a memorandum to the American state department that Japan will prohibit from the end of February, 1920, the issuance of passports to women of photograph marriage who would go to America. The photograph marriage was the unique saving method against the severe land law of California. The Japanese residing in America were able to avoid the trouble of returning to Japan and to welcome suitable brides from Japan by that method, and at the same time to escape from the cruel persecution of the anti-Japanese land law by owning the land in the name of their children. But in America that method of marriage is regarded as contrary to the custom of that country and as detrimental to the good morals. It was strongly opposed. Japan therefore took forward steps to see that the practice was stopped. As a matter of fact, there are not lacking practices in America which resemble photograph marriage.

The Japanese, too, do not regard the method as an ideal one by any means. But before the severe land law, the method adopted should not be blamed. The truth about the American opposition to the photograph marriage was not necessarily because the method was injurious to the morals, but it was because the Americans objected to the impairment of the effect of the land law of 1913. By the law of 1913, California prohibited the Japanese from owning land and the term of lease of land was limited to three years. But by virtue of the natural eligibility to citizenship of the children born in America, the area of land owned by the Japanese increased from 26,707 acres of 1913 to 30,805 acres of 1918, and the area of land leased increased in the same period from 155,488 acres to 336,721 acres. The Japanese who conducted the gardens and farms numbered one half of the total number of families of the Japanese, 12,480, that is 6,130, according to an investigation made at the close of 1918. Of these agricultural families, the male members numbered 7,973 and the female 4,560, the male children (under 16) 3,396 and the female children (under 16) 3,114. It means that the number of all children, male and female, was 6,510 for the total 6,130 families of the agriculturists, approximately the same number. Whereupon, the anti-Japanese fever in California again rose high as the presidential election approached, in spite of the concessions which have been made by the Japanese of which I have made mention before. The fever accentuated by the instigation by the professional politicians with a purpose was made all the stronger in 1920, and it found its expression in the new anti-Japanese land law. On November 2, the issue was referred to the initiative vote of the people on the occasion of the presidential election. Without waiting for the approval by the legislature or by the governor, the agitators at once accomplished their evil design. That law was one which added much to the severity of the land law of 1913. The gist of the new law was: (1), abolition of the three year leasehold rights; (2), prohibition of Japanese becoming guardians of their own children; (3), prohibition

of landownership to any corporation in which there is one Japanese officer or shareholder ; (4), any one violating the foregoing provisions shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than two years, or shall be punished by both the fine and imprisonment. It is a law which cannot be found in any other civilized country. Before such law was established by the initiative vote of the people, how much discourteous vituperations have been uttered against the Japapanese by the professional politicians, how extraordinary their falsifications and insinuations? Again, how seriously has that law compromised the principle of American national foundation and violated the purposes of the international treaty? I do not here propose to enlarge on that subject. I want to tell the Americans that even though the Japanese were thus insulted and persecuted, the Jopanes do not doubt all of Americans and are confident that in a section of the Americans there still remains the unwavering spirit of protestant brotherhood and they have full confidence before God in the sincerity and friendship of Japan. So Japan has been silent about it, and realizing the national conditions of America and respecting the special position of that country in the western hemisphere she endeavored to control herself. Japan was thus patient and self-controlling, not because she was afraid of the power of American weath. While America is confident of her power, so is also Japan of her power. Japan was patient and self-controlling, because she wanted to hold on to her own position. What is meant by that? It means that she wants to hold on to her position in China, Manchuria, and Mongolia, which is Japan's life and death line. Yet what is America doing in China, Manchuria and Mongolia?

(2.) "*Germany First*" and "*America First.*"

Japan's population is now increasing at the rate of 500,000 per annum. The increase in some years has been 700,000. The territorial expansion never goes parallel with the rate of increase of popu-

lation. Consequently, the food problem and the problem of living rise. In Japan, the density of population is 356 per square mile. The country where the density of population is greatest in the world is Belgium, with her density of 658 per square mile, the next Holland with her density of 407, and Japan occupies the third place. How about America, where the Japanese are excluded? Her density is only 2 per square mile. Canada's density is also 2 per square mile. We do not intend to force anything upon America which she does not like. America has her own ways and national conditions. There is no justification on our part to shift our responsibility for our sufferings to another country. That is how we respect the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908 and the Ishii-Lansing Agreement of 1917 and place our confidence in the intelligence and good will of America. We do not regard the Japanese exclusion by a section of Americans in the western coast of America, as the will of the entire American people. At the same time, we do not hastily conclude that the words and actions of the questionable Americans in China and Manchuria as representing the policy of America. But America as result of the Great World War has at one gallop become the wealthiest country and the largest owner of ships in the world. She is now puzzled as to how the capital which was accumulated to the overflowing degree in the country may be invested. Gold is today the controlling power. The lofty American principle of brotherhood of love, justice and humanity has now been cowed before the evil power of gold. The intelligence of the genuine American gentlemen who have inherited the blood of the protestants is often overshadowed by the base materialistic civilization. That is well exemplified by the dream of America First, and by the halucination entertained about world capitalism of America. I am acquainted with the history of the phrase, America First. When the phrase was first employed by the late Theodore Roosevelt, he did not mean by it that America shall become the ruler of the world or the capitalistic conqueror of the world. When in the early period of the World War, soon after the declaration of war,

the attitude of the people was lacking in unity to a great extent due to the violent activities of the German Americans, the cry was that everything should be centered in America and that the beautiful spirit of sacrifice should be shown in the name of America, in order to rouse the patriotism of the people. That cry was crystalized into the motto, America First. But that motto, after the ending of the war, has in no time changed into America First in the world. How was it that militaristic Germany, against which America rose in arms as against the enemy of humanity, has seen her downfall? Germany died a death like a madman because of the halucination of "Deutschland Uber Alles," which was like the "America First," a motto during the period of Imperial unification. The patriotic poet, Hoffmann Von Fazlesleben, composed the motto in 1841, when Germany was suffering from the difficulty of unification. He exclaimed that everything should be sacrificed for the sake of the vaterland, in order to rouse patriotism among the people. There is a striking resemblance between the two countries. The German people, elated by the sudden development of the national power, and they lost restraint on themselves. They forgot the pains-taking efforts made by Wilhelm Der Gross or Bismark, and changed the meaning of the motto employed during the period of Imperialistic unification into "Deutschland Uber Die Welt." As the result of wild dance indulged in by beating the bottom of the beer barrel, Germany has invited the present day condition of sad fate. In place of military force which had been employed by Alexander the Great in ancient history and Napoleon the First in modern history, America employs a new modern weapon called capital. A section of Americans take advantage of the position which she has acquired as the great creditor nation to the powers, and plans to compel the world to kneel before her as slaves of gold. Will that plan succeed? The wealth of America may be sufficient to build a tower of Babel; America's manufactures may suffice to erect a long wall. But the unification of the world or the peace of world cannot be attained by means of force. It can be attained only by means of perfect self-

government of different nations and races. It will come only when all nations and races have each individually become perfect self-governing and civilized communities. I have maintained that as my principle for years in the past. In my work on "Japan's Reconstruction, Its Significance and Details," I have advocated that principle among our country men in the name of international principle of right government.

(3). *Depravity of Present Day Americans.*

No Japanese shall enter the western hemisphere; the Japanese shall not acquire a position a step in advance of the Americans; Manchuria shall be opened free; Mongolia shall be offered likewise; Korea shall be abandoned. These may not be the demands of intelligent classes of Americans. But that is the impression which the Japanese gather from the words and actions of a section of Americans. On September 4, 1920, the New York World said in an article, entitled "California Voted in Favor of War", that "such discriminatory treatment [should be enough to excite indignation of any people who are sensitive about prestige and dignity of their nation.—The motive of the Great European War was not so complicated as that.—The Californians have used the ballot box as a substitute for an ultimatum, and have declared war on Japan". That exclamation had certainly touched the vital point of the issue. Even to the Americans, the words and actions of a section of their country men appeal as wild. It should be imagined how great the sense of insult, indignity and persecution was on the part of the Japanese. When I think of the mutual misunderstandings and antipathy, which were brought about thus, and how they will lead to a state of deadlock, I cannot but feel a chill in my heart.

The American democracy is a democracy apart from the European history. It is a democracy which has excluded all the feudalistic influences. America has fought for almost two centuries since her

national foundation against the feudalistic influences which have come from Europe to invade that country. She was able to maintain herself pure and undefiled. I have already in the beginning of this treatise paid whole-hearted respects to the democracy which America maintains. I have also said that it was a reasonable thing that she should try to spread that democracy in the western hemisphere. If the recent activities of America are calculated to extend her democracy to Europe and the Far East, I should say that such attempt is altogether unreasonable, because however rich America may be, however great the efficiency of the Americans, it will be impossible to disregard history or to bend the law of nature. The old world was America's mother, and America's pure democracy was born out of the feudalistic system of Europe. Only the American democracy, as soon as it was born, sprang out of the mother's breast and built its own separate house in the new world, where there was no history nor any conventionalities of the past. It was natural that in order to maintain its own family constitution, it should have excluded the old constitution of the mother house. But it is unreasonable for the American democracy to try to destroy the constitution of the mother house, which had been developed in an orderly manner, in comparison with the constitution of its own. The intelligent Americans may not be unaware of that reason. Justice does not reside in America alone. It resides in Japan also. It resides in France, in Italy. At the same time as one upholds one's justice, one should respect the justice of others. That will be the unique method of finding out the common justice of the world.

The Americans have made precious sacrifices in the past for the sake of liberty. Liberty is the soul of the Americans. It is America's lover. I only doubt whether the Americans of today know how their ancestors won the liberty. Have their forefathers won it by force? Have they employed gold? They have not had force or gold. They won in a fight against the force and gold of the old world with bare hand and empty fist. Indeed, they own by means of unique spirit which they possessed, that is the spirit of self-government. Liberty

without self-government is an empty halucination. It is a sturture on sand. Liberty is granted only to those who have the ability of self-government. Self-government means that one controls one's own limitless desires before the welfare and happiness of the many. It is not self-government to swallow the Hawaii, annex the Philippiues, maltreat Mexico, subject 10,000,000 Negroes within the gates of the country under indignity, and then to incite disturbances in Ireland and instigate the Koreans agsinst Japan. The American forefathers respected the virtue of self-control. They won the glorious liberty and built up the pure and undefiled democracy. Are not the Americans of today ashamed of themselves in view of the endeavors which their forefathers have made? Are they really fit to succeed to the great spirit of their forefathers and the great work which has been done and left unfinished?

(4.) *Has the World Good Will Toward America?*

When a man is at the height of success, every one appears as his friend. When he is in a state af disappointment, he will realize that he had reposed confidence in a wrong place. Then every one who surrounds him will appear as an arch enemy. Had Germany which had fought against the whole world as her enemy, from the first intended to fight against the whole world? However self-possessed Germany might be, it is not likely that she had so intended from the first. America is now at the height of success. By the Great War, England lost 12.5 per cent of her national wealth, France 25 per cent, Italy 20 per cent; whereas America in an inverse ratio increased her wealth by 30 per cent. According to a roport by Mr. Melon, secretary of treasury, recently made public, the amounts of credits which America owns against other countries are as follows.

England	4,166,318,358.
France	3,330,762,930.
Italy	1,648,034,050.

Belgium	375,230,147.
Russia	192,601,297.
Poland	135,661,659.
Czecho-Slovakia	91,179,527.
Serbia.	51,153,159.
Rumania.	36,128,494.
Austria	24,055,708.
Greece	15,000,000.
Esthonia	13,999,144.
Cuba	11,959,917.
Finland	8,281,926.
Latvtia	5,133,286.
Lithuania	4,981,627.
Hungary.	1,685,835.
Liveria	26,000.

When America faces the world as a great creditor nation as shown in the foregoing table, it is certain that the world will always meet America with overwhelming compliments and sweet-sounding words. But behind the sweet diplomatic language and the smiling faces of the debtors, shall we not find the burning eyes of jealousy and glowing color of hatred? Since a certain understanding was reached among England, France and America in 1897, until the Great World War broke out, that is for about 20 years, the peaceful days such as one had never noted before have passed between the three countries. The fact that the relations between England and France which since 1904, by the diplomatic skill of M. Delcasse, the great statesman of France, have become very close, is what the world has watched with great attention. But the friendly relations between England and France, as soon as the common enemy, Germany, was downed, again returned to the former state of antipathy with each other. In reference to the application of the peace treaty, the two nations have conflicted with each other and is becoming antagonistic to each other. In spite of the fact that England and

France entertain a great amount of unpleasant feeling toward America they do not show their feelings. Had the relations between England and France been as close as before the war, they might never have permitted the audacious and insulting attitude with which American Senate in 1919 has rejected to ratify the treaty of peace. The treaty of peace of Versailles was concluded with former president Mr. Wilson, whom the American people have elected, as the center of the movement to persuade the powers to control their obstinacy and prejudices, with the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind as the final goal. Whatever the conditions at home may have been, the people of that country should have supported the treaty unanimously, and guaranteed it. That would have been a proper way of courtesy to the powers of the world. But the American Senate as I have said before has trampled Mr. Wilson's dignity under foot in regard to the League of Nations, and introduced a resolution of amendment which was equivalent to a lynching of the treaty. In effect, the Senate attempted to get rid of Mr. Wilson. Not only that, but the Senate literally threw the treaty back at the face of the Allies. Since the treaty of peace was to be effective if three out of the five big powers should ratify it, the American refusal to come to terms has not seriously affected the treaty making. But so long as America has rejected the treaty, it would have been an ordinary courtesy on the part of America not to cast slur on the Versailles treaty, if she made her own treaty with Germany. But the treaty of peace with Germany itself cannot be made single-nanded. Because the war with Germany was fought jointly with other powers, it would be a difficult thing indeed to conclude a separate peace with Germany. If so the Republicans and the Democrats should have found some way of compromising their differences at home. But in the session of Congress in 1920, the Versailles treaty was again rejected. And America has not scrupled about making complaints against Europe. While the reason of the Senate's objection to the treaty of peace was to be found in the Shantung deal and the number of votes

which England obtained in the League of Nations council, the more vital point was Article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant. According to that article, America was to shoulder the responsibility of going to the assistance of Europe in future in case of emergencies. That would be against the Monroe Doctrine of America. The Senate firmly stood on that ground. The objection was raised by the late Mr. Philander Knox, the leading authority on international law in the Republican Party, whose death was reported while this treatise was being written (October 12). Senator Lodge and his colleagues have supported the objection and fought for it. Wherefore was the Monroe Doctrine brought forth in this connection? The Monroe Doctrine is interpreted variously according to different persons. In my opinion, it is no longer applicable to the present condition of America. I have explained in detail in Chapter 2 that the Monroe Doctrine of America was at its end about 1870 when the American commercial and industrial capitalism has been fully developed. Forward advance and extension of sphere of influence, is the natural characteristic of commercial and industrial capitalism. For America which has now become a first rate industrial and maritime nation, to talk about the Monroe Doctrine, is more unfit than for a wolf to wear a priesthood robe. If commercial and industrial capitalism is the natural goal for America to reach, America should manfully cast off the false mask of the Monroe Doctrine and declare her forward policy to the world, shouldering responsibilities to Europe and at the same insisting upon her claims. Whether she does declare the forward policy or not, America in reality is interfering with Europe and insisting upon her rights against Europe. But when America objects to Article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant, it means that she only insists upon her claims and yet refuses to shoulder the responsibilities. In Japan, that policy is called a policy of "what is mine is mine, and what is yours is also mine." It is a policy which gentlemen are ashamed to adopt. How about America in that respect?

(5.) *American Interference with Italy and Japan.*

To prove by facts rather than by arguments, let us examine what America has done so far. While it was maintained in America that Article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant was contrary to the Monroe Doctrine, and the treaty was objected to being ratified, on the other hand former president Mr. Wilson in February, 1920, himself before he was relieved by his successor complained about the Italy's attitude in regard to the Adriatic question, between that country and Yugo Slavia, thereby astonishing England and France. The issue between Italy and Yugo Slavia was settled by England and France in conformity with the advocacy of Mr. Wilson. Later, seeing that in view of the American public opinion and the resolutions of the American Senate America had no intention of cooperating with Europe, England and France yielded somewhat to Italy's claims, and were bent on having the Fiume and other issues of the Adriatic Sea settled to the advantage of Italy. But the American government, while having no prospect of being able to control the Senate opposition or of having the treaty ratified, has on the other hand registered a strong protest against England and France, thereby giving the two European powers a considerable amount of trouble. It would be an endless task to point out America's inconsistencies. Now, from along December 2, 1920, America made similar complaints about Japan's mandate over the island of Yap. That was also another example of America's inconsistency. In spite of the fact that Japan's mandate over the Yap island was finally settled by the Supreme Council on May 7, 1919, America insisted that Mr. Wilson had objected to the decision and reserved the right to study the question of the disposition in future, thus protesting against Japan's mandate over the island. The Japanese government exchanged various official notes with the American government after repeated negotiations on the question. As the result, the Japanese mandate over the island was recognized by America this year, and the issue appears to have been

settled somehow on condition that America shall have the right to own the Yap-Guam line, of the cable lines which were seized by Japan from Germany. Aside from the question of legal interpretation of propriety of objecting to ratify the peace treaty and yet making complaints about the contents of the treaty, the American attitude of wilfulness which destroyed the harmony of the Allies and prevented the peace treaty from being carried out in effect, should be characterized as nothing but that of an international boor.

On May 6, this year, when the Allied nations have requested America to participate in the Supreme Council deliberations, the ambassadorial conference and the conference for discussing the question of German indemnities, President Harding gladly accepted the invitation, "a boat when one wants to cross a river", as a Japanese saying goes. What may be said of that attitude of the Republican Party which since 1919 has refused to ratify the peace treaty and tormented Mr. Wilson to the extreme degree? The Republicans may reflect upon their inconsistencies and lack of sincerity. But it may not be wide of the mark to judge that the change was brought about by the fact that the internal conditions in America have necessitated cooperation with Europe. That point is also to be noted in Chapter 2 of the peace resolution which President Harding signed on July 2, to which I have referred in the preceding chapter. If there was a need for issuing such selfish and inconsistent declaration as "The American government and people reserve the right to claim that the treaty of armistice signed on November 11, 1918, and the rights and privileges, interests and indemnities which were secured as one of the participants in the war and also in accordance with the Versailles treaty of peace, are carried out", why was it necessary for America to reject the peace treaty twice, thereby annoying the Allies, even going to the length of pressing the former president to the wall?

What other nations will think about that audacity of America, the Americans will not be able to realize so long as she is at the height of success. When America is down and out, she may for the

first time realize it. But it will be too late then.

(6). *Violent Competition Between England and America.*

After the powerful rival, Germany, was downed, will England continue to cater to the pleasures of America forever, and permit America's commercial and industrial development unlimited in the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans? America had once been a supplier of raw materials to Europe. In those days, England attempted to obtain her raw materials from America and Africa, in order to monopolize the manufacturing industry of the world for herself. But manufacturing industry rose in France and Germany also. It rose in America, too. The last, it rose in Japan. America from about half a century ago, has become an industrial country on the par with England. But America had lacked merchant marines. She had been prevented by various circumstances from replenishing her supply of bottoms at home. As the result of the World War, however, she became a great marine country equal in strength to England. In point of efficiency of factories and the tonnage of ships, America and England have become powerful rivals of each other across the Atlantic Ocean. How the two powerful rivals will maintain harmony between themselves, how they will march parallelly in the road of advancement, is a most interesting question to study. England, by the effect of the Great World War, is now considerably exhausted. Her national wealth has decreased by 12.5 per cent compared with the pre-war period. The peace-time efficiency of factories has not yet been restored, while the labor situation is very much complicated, and the Irish question is growing worse. Her relations with France are not as might be desired. However great and experienced a nation England is, she will be obliged for the time being to refrain from forward ventures in foreign countries. On the other hand, America, which has had her wealth increased by 30 per cent from the pre-war period, has not

suffered from the effect of the war so seriously. She was able to restore order at home within a very short time. The factory efficiency was then increased, and America hurriedly made preparations to carry the goods which had accumulated since the commencement of the war to South America, China and Siberia, in order to make a gigantic forward stride. The standard of American naval expansion is the British navy. That America insisted upon having the German vessels seized destroyed, was because she afraid that by the addition of the German war vessels captured by the British navy might occupy an absolute position of superiority. The construction of merchant marines in America takes its model in England. That America without paying any deference to England, which had suffered most from the German submarine attacks, has made a diametrically opposite protest from that regarding the war vessels, was due to the fact that America held a largest number of enemy vessels captured or interned. That the Republicans have opposed in the peace treaty, was due no doubt to their antipathy toward Mr. Wilson; but it was chiefly due to their antipathy toward England. The fact England, with her colonies, secured six votes in the council of the League of Nations and that the views which prevailed in the formation of the League of Nations were mostly British, were the main causes of the opposition. It had long been the ideal of the American financiers to shift the world money center from London to New York. How vigorously a section of Americans have extended their hand in Australia, Ireland and Canada, is a matter which is well known to the well informed persons of the world. That the Irish revolt has been unexpectedly stubborn and even the power of the British government cannot readily take the situation in hand, is due to the financial aids which were extended by the Irish in American and the German Americans, a fact which is well known in the world. Governor Cox, who had stood as the presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, in his address said, "If I be elected the president, I shall introduce a bill in the League of Nations council for the independence of Ireland." Judged

from that address, one can imagine how high has been the enthusiasm in America for the independence of Ireland. At the same time, we can note that the Americans, at the height of their success, are now trying to introduce the American political system reversely into the old world. In spite of such attitude of America, England outwardly assumes a rather very calm attitude. That England is thus assuming a calm attitude toward the American challenge, is due to the fact that since the conclusion of the peace treaty, England and France have conflicted in the question of disposition of Syria, the British-Persian agreement, the mobilization in the Ruhl Valley, the Upper Silecian question, at every turn of events; so that one is tempted to recall the former British-French relations of the 18th Century. To hurt the American feelings at such time, would be to work for a rapprochement between America and France; while at the same time England feared that in Canada, New Fundland, Carribian islands, as well as in Ireland, Australia, disturbances might be created. So it may be that England is patiently biding the time. In September, 1919, England sent Viscount Grey as a special envoy to America and he remained in America for four months to negotiate on some matters. That shows how serious the condition of England was. Viscount Grey attained a success in the European continent in the negotiations between the three nations of England, France and Russia, thereby isolating Germany. So great a statesman in England. But I do not jump at the conclusion at once, because of that, that England has taken off her helmet to America and bended her knees, in order to beg for an understanding with her. But a dog who fights well does not recklessly bark. Once he rose, he will not rest until his adversary is down. That is why the British are called John Bulls.

I have explained before that the relations between England and France have been lacking in smoothness since the time of the peace conference in Paris. Have then the relations between France and America become friendly any the more? Not necessarily. One may say that America and France are more friendly disposed toward each

other than England and France. But France is not at all friendly disposed toward America in view of the diplomatic dealings of the latter in recent years. Especially, the lack of manner on the part of the American soldiers in France has seriously angered the French people. Since Signior Orlando, on account of the Fiume question, conflicted with Mr. Wilson and rolling up his flag left Paris, the relations between America and Italy have been almost beyond the question. The Italian aeroplanes have come to Japan uninvited, to show the Italian friendship to Japan, in stead of showing it to America. I warn America and the Americans again. While either an individual or a nation is at the height of tuccess, everything surrounding him appears as a friendingly party. But when a war shall have actually commencad, there will be no way of knowing who the enemy is. The German people once beat the beer barrel and sang, "Deutschland Uber Die Welt." But when they were awakened from their drunkenness and looked about themselves, they found that they were "Alone in the World".

(7). *Assimilative Power of American Civilization.*

I have analyzed in Chapter 1 the American spirit and have shown the glorious side of the American principle which had transcended nationalistic antipathies or race prejudices. Those views of mine were not mere empty compliments by any means. I firmly believe that the genuine American spirit is such as I have described and believe even now that that genuine American spirit is still alive in the heart of genuine Americans. But the present day America is not a fit vessel to hold such spirit and such ideal in it. America is a country which was built hy the third class people of Europe, who stood between the land owners and the serfs, and who escaping from the opppressions of the lords of manors and governors of estates have found a new home of absolute liberty in the new world where no civilized man had as yet visited. In other words, America has

been a self-governing community for the third class people. She has been, to use another phrase, a business nation. She has been a currency nation from her birth, where there had been no history of bargaining. It was a natural thing that in that country commerce and industry should prosper. But, in order to preserve intact the lofty ideals of the protestant fathers and the brave spirit of the pioneers, America has a serious short-coming. What is meant by the short-coming of America? It refers to the lack of old history back of America. That an old history is lacking is one of the peculiarities of the American democracy. An old history often leaves meaningless conventionalities and moralities deposited at the bottom of society, thereby corrupting the people. But in another sense, an old history will help to preserve lofty and graceful virtues and chivalrous and brave spirit in society, and nourish such virtues and spirit to suit the new age and to take new forms. America lacks traditions to add to her materialistic civilization, in order to cherish the lofty spirit. Consequently, America lacks power to assimilate various races who come from different directions of the world. The Americans say that the Japanese are a race who cannot be easily assimilated. That is an outrageous blind decision. How could an unassimilable race achieve such a success in half century so that their nation secured a position in the world at any rate as one of the five great nations? Has not the European civilization well assimilated the Japanese? Have not the Japanese well digested the European civilization to make it their own? If the Americans had studied the Japanese history a little more carefully, and have traced the development of civilization in Japan, they would certainly discover some wonderful facts, indeed. The Japanese have assimilated with the Hindoo civilization, the Chinese civilization, and finally the European civilization. At each turn, they have produced their own peculiar fruits of civilization. If that fact is to be denied, how can the recent development of Japan be interpreted? There will then be no other way of interpreting, except as some one has said that it was indeed a miracle. However much the European and

American people may make discount, Japan has at any rate attained the position of one of the five great nations of the world. How can a race who are unassimilable, as the Americans charge, attain such development? The question resolves itself to this, that America lacks civilizing influences which would assimilate foreigners. It is not that the Japanese alone cannot be assimilated in America. The Germans live in America as German Americans; the Irish as Irish Americans; and the Japanese as Japanese. The attitude of the German Americans or the Irish Americans during the Great War proved that America could not assimilate not only the Japanese, but also the European immigrants. If the America tries to exclude the Japanese alone, it means that the Americans entertain race prejudices. In brief, America possesses an overflowing amount of materialistic civilization and lacks power to assimilate. Consequently, different races live separately in groups by themselves, and the precious genuine American spirit is gradually being lost sight of. That should be regarded as one of the most deplorable things for America.

(8). *Conclusion.*

Especially after replenishment of the commercial and industrial capitalism, the evils have been more remarkable. In fact, men like George Washington or Abraham Lincoln were the products of the pioneer period down to the agricultural period. They could not live and have their being together with the oil kings, railway kings or mining kings, who are half beasts and half men. In America, in place of the feudalistic nobilities the moneyed nobilities have arisen. These nobilities in no time have established the system of feudalistic capitalism. In the American society, the system of symbols of classes is lacking. But in recent times, unabridgeable class distinctions have arisen far more insidious than the titles or ranks of nobilities. They are the class distinctions between the rich and the poor. A son of a poor family and a son of a rich family make their appearance in the

world to compete in the struggle of existence upon different starts in life. Regardless of his experience and efficiency, the son of a poor family remains to the end as such ; while the son of a rich family remains as such likewise. The present day social class distinctions are more insidious than the system of symbols of classes, such as titles of ranks, and are more firmly entrenched. There is no reason why a milk man should not rise to become a governor of a state railway work hand to become the president of the United States. But such thing is only a dream now in America. The sacredness of labor, the artistic development of business, which I have explained in Chapter 1 as the peculiarities of America and the Americans, are now becoming things of the past. Schools, newspapers, libraries, laboratories, Congress, courts, and all other institutions in America are fast submitting themselves to the power of money. A concrete example of that tendency in recent politics was the Republican victory, the wild attitude of the senate and the exclusion of the Japanese. Again, the example of that in the international relations, was the so-called dollar diplomacy of the late Senator Knox, and the principle of America First.

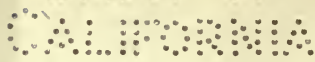
If America, relying confidently upon her first-in-the-world money power, should wilfully attempt to oppress the weaker nations, the weaker nations of the world will probably take lessons from the dreadful Soviet Russia and reduce their own countries under the Red influence, and by cooperating, east and west, will oppose America. Mexico has been a good example of that. Since the Spanish American War, the American capital has flowed like a flood and tearing down the embankment has inundated Mexico, and a greater portion of Mexico has now come into the hand of the American capitalists. Mexico is now facing the situation by establishing labor legislations and by turning her own country a Red country is tormenting the American capitalists. If all the weaker nations of the world which maintain their independence in name should establish laws based upon the labor first principle, following the Mexican example, to face the

capitalism of the stronger nations, it will be a serious problem, indeed.

Even supposing that the wealth of America is sufficient to enable America to win against the powers of the world, if those who rebel against America should rise in Mexico, Central America, South America, what? Even in the just and honorable war against the German militarism, the German Americans were engaged in underhanded manipulations, the I.W.W. members have strongly opposed the war, and also conscientious objections were registered by those who adhered to the C. O. faith. If the next war were to be waged in order to enable a section of the wealthy classes to find a new market for their products, will the people submissively obey the order of the government and be willing to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the world capitalism? How about the laborers at home? How about the Mexicans? How about the Negroes, whose lives are always threatened with cruel tortures of lynching, of which even the most vicious devils will be ashamed? Even if a section of Chinese may repose confidence in America, the majority of the Mexicans, the Negroes, the Turks, the Persians, the Hindoos are always looking up to Japan as their light and hopes. Everywhere they welcome the Japanese and they regard with joy Japan's development as their own affairs. The majority of colored races will never be the friends of America. Will America be able to advance forward in the interest of iniquitous capitalistic schemes, without counting beforehand on the possibility of these tormenting thorns in the flesh rising resolutely as the enemies? If that is the situation, America today at the height of her success is looking below into the bottom of the abyss of despair.

Who shall save America and the Americans from the impending dangers? The blood of the genuine Americans is not yet altogether dry. The spirit of liberty and of justice, which had been led by George Washington and nurtured by Abraham Lincoln is not yet altogether dead. But America is hourly approaching the dangers. She does not realize her own position and is only doing things which are calculated to lead her into a position of isolation in the world.

Formerly, the enemy of America came across the Atlantic Ocean. Her enemy also came from the South at one time. But now he is fomenting in the hearts of the people who have lost the functions of conscience, drunk as they are in gold. Now is the time when a small section of gentlemen of America, who represent the genuine American intelligence and wisdom, should rise and deal an awakening blow with a club of conscience upon the head of the dead-drunken people. The lofty spirit of the pioneers still lives in America. We have noted its flashes even in 1913 and in 1920 whenever the Japanese exclusion movement rose in the western part of America. Ye sons and grandsons of the pioneers, rise! Awake, ye spirit of America! Unless the people of America are roused from the wild state of drunkenness and awakened from their spread-eagle dreams, "the government of the people, by the people and for the people" will disappear altogether from the Earth. When a great nation falls, it falls on account of internal corruption. We trust that America will not follow the foolish foot steps. The Americans value liberty. Liberty means self-government means self-restraint. We urge on the present-day Americans to awaken to the true liberty accompanied with self-restraint.



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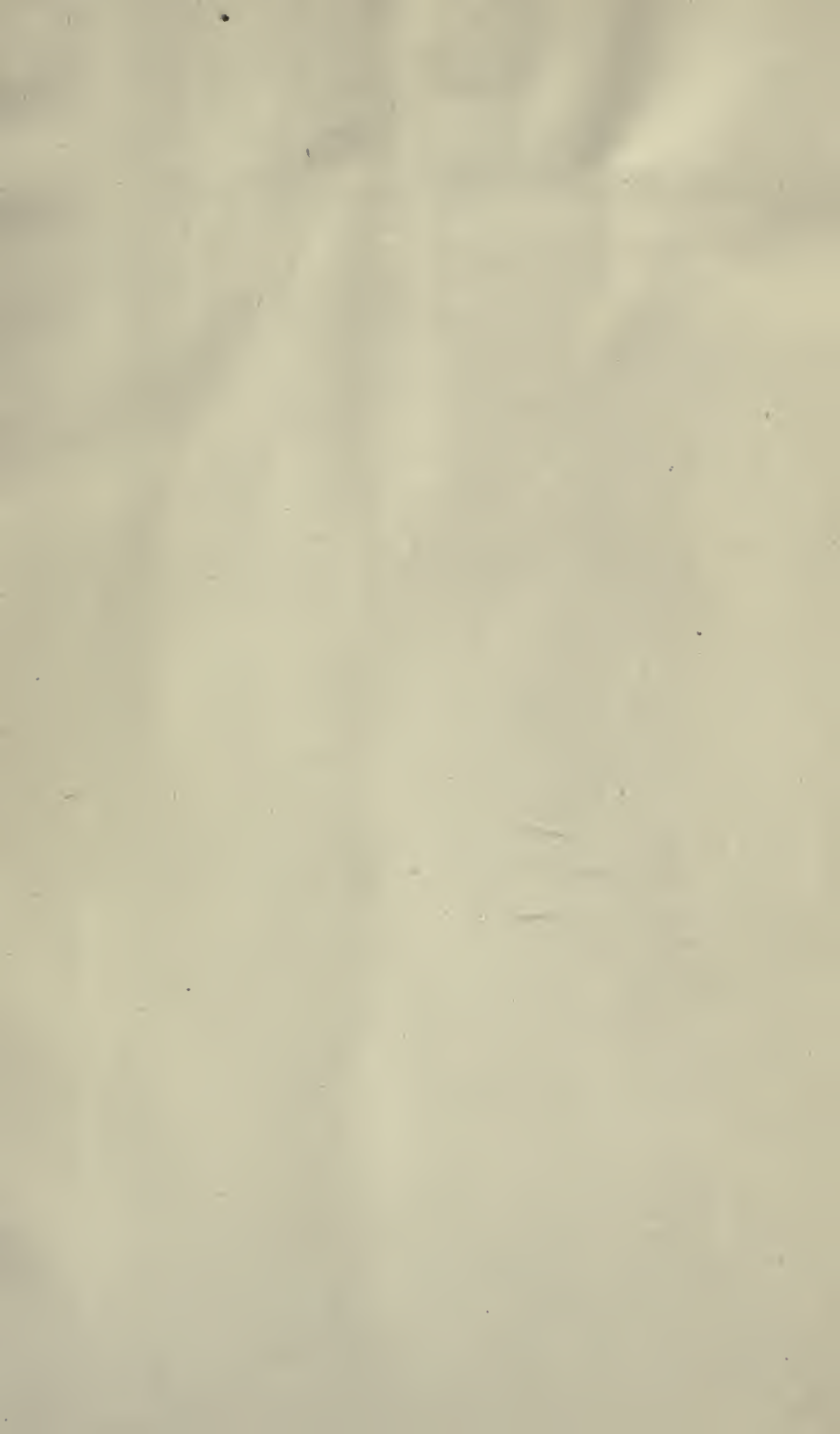
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